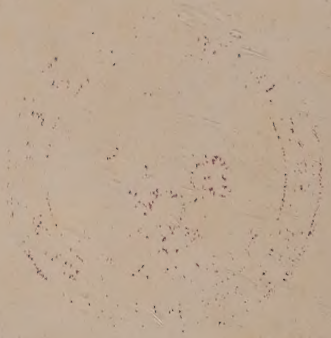
On Faith and The Creed

C. A. Heurtley



On Faith and the Creed:

DOGMATIC TEACHING

OF THE

CHURCH OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES:

BEING

A TRANSLATION

Of the several Treatises contained in the Compilation entitled

De Fide et Symbolo:

BY THE

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PREFACE.

THE third of the following Treatises ought properly to have been placed first in order, being the earliest in date. That it has not been so is owing to the circumstance that a different principle of arrangement was originally intended, and was not abandoned till the printing had proceeded too far to admit of the necessary alteration.

The whole of the Treatises except the last are comprised, as regards their date, within the limits indicated in the Title-page, ranging between A.D. 348 and A.D. 451, thus including the latter half of the fourth century, and the former half of the fifth. The Commentary on the Athanasian Creed is probably of a later date, though, for any evidence external or internal to the contrary, it may have been written before the close of the fifth century. Be this as it may, it contains no dogmatic statements, as neither does the Athanasian Creed on which it comments, for which a parallel may not be found in one or other of the Treatises which precede it. A Collection of Documents "On Faith and the Creed" would have been incomplete without a Commentary on the Athanasian Creed.

These Creeds and Expositions of the Creed must be presumed to comprise all that the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries regarded as of necessity to be believed in order to salvation. Yet the Translator has been struck, while prosecuting his work—sentence by

sentence, with the absence of all reference to the greater part of those articles which, in the Creed of Pope Pius IV., are appended to the Constantinopolitan Creed, and are there represented to be an integral portion of the Catholic Faith, outside which no man can be saved (*extra quam nemo salvus esse potest*). The same may be said of the two new dogmas authoritatively declared to be *de fide* under Pope Pius IX. The reader will look in vain in these pages for Purgatory, for the Invocation of Saints, for the Cultus of the Blessed Virgin, for Image-worship, for the acknowledgment of the Church of Rome as the Mother and Mistress of all Churches, and of the Bishop of Rome as the Vicar of Jesus Christ and infallible [a].

It might be said, indeed, that three of these Treatises being intended for Catechumens, some at least of the subjects referred to lie beyond their range. This may be the case with one or two of those subjects. But there are others, such as the Cultus of the Virgin, the Invocation of Saints, and Image-worship, which, if they had been practised by the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries, as they are by the Church of Rome of the present day, could not have been left unnoticed even in the most elementary instruction.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
Jan. 20, 1886.

[a] On the last mentioned point compare note f, p. 188, below.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

St. Augustine On Faith and the Creed . . 1

——————— Sermon to Catechumens . . 33

St. Cyril of Jerusalem on the Creed (Lect. IV.) 53

Rufinus's Commentary on the Apostles' Creed 78

St. Cyril of Alexandria 144

Second Epistle to Nestorius . . . 156

Third Epistle to Nestorius . . . 162

Epistle to John of Antioch . . . 177

St. Leo's Epistle to Flavian (The Tome of St. Leo) 185

Definition of Faith of the Council of Chalcedon 209

Fortunatus's Exposition of the Athanasian Creed 218

Index 235

ST. AUGUSTINE.

St. Augustine was born at Tagaste, a small town of Numidia, on Nov. 13, 354. His father, Patricius, was a Pagan, though he eventually became a Christian; his mother, Monica, whose name his Confessions have made familiar throughout Christendom, was a Christian and a woman of eminent piety. When a young man he was carried away by the Manichæan heresy, but having been gradually extricated from it, as well as from a vicious course of life into which he had fallen, he was led, under the influence of St. Ambrose, to embrace the Christian faith, and was baptized by him at Milan, on Easter Eve, 387. On his mother's death, which occurred shortly afterwards (his father had died several years before), he repaired to Rome, and thence, after a stay of a year and a half, to his native town in Numidia. In 391 he was ordained Presbyter, and in 395 consecrated Bishop of Hippo, where he remained for the rest of his life, and where he died Aug. 28, 430, the town being at the time closely besieged by the Vandals.

Of the two following Treatises (On Faith and the Creed and The Sermon to Catechumens) the former is a Discourse which St. Augustine delivered in 393, while yet a Presbyter, before a Council of the whole

African Episcopate assembled at Hippo. The second is a Sermon addressed to Catechumens. It is one of four, with the same title, ascribed to St. Augustine, and placed together consecutively by the Benedictine Editors. But it is the only one of which the internal evidence, as the same editors point out, justifies the ascription. It may be compared with Sermons 212, 213, 214, preached "In Traditione Symboli," and Sermon 215, preached "In Redditione Symboli," of whose genuineness there is no doubt[a]. Its difference in point of style from the Discourse "On Faith and the Creed" is due to the difference of the auditory before whom it was delivered, the one being an assembly of bishops, the other of catechumens, many probably of humble rank, preparing for baptism. It affords an instance of his familiar manner in preaching to an ordinary congregation.

[a] They will be found in the 5th Vol., Part 1, of St. Augustine's Works of the Paris edition, 1837.

ON FAITH AND THE CREED.

THE CREED AS COLLECTED FROM ST. AUGUSTINE'S DISCOURSE "ON FAITH AND THE CREED."

A.D. 393.

1. I BELIEVE in God the Father Almighty, §§ 2, 3.
2. And in Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son, our Lord, § 3.
3. Who was born by (*per*) the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, § 8.
4. Was crucified under Pontius Pilate, § 11.
   And was buried, § 11.
5. Rose again from the dead the third day, § 12.
6. Ascended into heaven, § 13.
   Sitteth on the right hand of the Father, § 14.
7. From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead; § 15.
8. And I believe in the Holy Ghost, §§ 16, 19.
9. The Holy Church, § 21.
10. The forgiveness of sins, § 23.
11. The resurrection of the flesh, §§ 23, 24.

ON FAITH AND THE CREED:

A Discourse delivered before a Council of the whole African Episcopate assembled at Hippo Regius.

Since it is written and is corroborated by the most solid authority of Apostolic teaching that "the righteous doth live by faith," and since that same faith doth require of us the office both of the heart and of the tongue (for the Apostle saith, "with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation,") therefore it behoves us to be mindful both of righteousness and of salvation, for being to reign in eternal righteousness, we cannot be saved from this present evil world, unless, aiming at the salvation of our neighbours, we confess with our mouth the faith which we bear in our heart: which faith, that it may not be injured in us in any respect by the cunning fraud of heretics, we must provide with pious and cautious diligence.

Now the Catholic faith in the Creed is known to the faithful, and is committed to memory by them in as few words as the matter admits, in order that to beginners and babes, those, namely, who have been born anew in Christ, but are not yet strengthened and

established by the diligent and spiritual handling and knowledge of the divine Scriptures, that should be laid down to be believed in few words, which to those who are advancing and rising towards the acquisition of divine learning by the sure strength of humility and charity, will have to be explained in many words.

Under these few words contained in the Creed, the majority of heretics have sought to conceal their poison, whom divine mercy hath withstood and still withstands by the ministry of spiritual men, who have been counted worthy, not only to accept and believe the Catholic faith as contained in these words, but also, by the revelation of the Lord, to understand and know it. For it is written, "Except ye believe ye shall not understand." But the handling of the faith is for the defence of the Creed, not that the same should be delivered instead of the Creed to those who obtain God's grace, to be learnt by heart and rehearsed by them, but that it may guard the truths contained in the Creed against the insidious designs of heretics with catholic authority and a more secure defence.

2. For some have endeavoured to persuade us that God the Father is not Almighty. Not that they have dared to say this in express words, but they are convicted of holding and believing it in their teaching. For when they affirm that there is a substance which God Almighty did not create, of which, notwithstanding, He framed the world, which they grant to have been admirably ordered, they in such wise deny God's omnipotency, that they do not believe that He could have made the world, unless He had

availed Himself of another substance, already in existence, which Himself did not make, being accustomed to the sight of carpenters and builders of houses and all sorts of workmen, who cannot attain the ends of their several arts, unless they have materials at hand to help them. Thus also they conceive that the Framer of the world is not almighty if He could not have framed the world but by the aid of some substance, not made by Him, as material for His purpose. Or, if they acknowledge that Almighty God is the maker of the world, then they must confess that He made what things He made out of nothing. For since He is almighty, there cannot be anything in existence which He did not create. Because though He made something of something else, as man of clay, yet He did not make it of what Himself had not made, because the earth, whence the clay comes, He had made out of nothing, and if He made the heaven and the earth and the world and all things therein of some matter, as it is written, "Who madest the world of matter unseen" (Wisd. xi. 18), or according to some copies "of matter without form," we must in no wise believe that this same matter of which the world was made, although unseen, although without form, howsoever it was, could have existed of itself, as though coeternal and coeval with God; but the mode of existence which it had, whatsoever it had, so as to exist in whatsoever mode, and to be capable of receiving the forms of diverse and distinct things, it had not but from Almighty God, from whose gift cometh not only everything formed but everything formable. Now between what is formed and what is formable there is

this difference, that what is formed hath already received form, what is formable is capable of receiving. But He who gives to things form, Himself also gives them the capability of being formed, since of Him and in Him is the most admirable type[b] of all things unalterable. And, therefore, He alone it is who hath given to everything not only to be beautiful but to be capable of being beautiful. Wherefore most rightly do we believe that God made all things of nothing, because, even if the world was made of matter of some sort, yet that same matter was made of nothing, that by the most exquisitely designed gift of God there might come into existence the first capacity of forms, and then whatsoever things have been formed might be formed. This we have said lest any one should suppose the divine Scriptures to be contrary to each other, since it is written, both that God made all things of nothing, and that the world was made of matter without form, (Wisd. xi. 18; Heb. xi. 3[c]).

3. Believing then in God the Father Almighty we must believe that there is no creature which was not created by the Almighty, and since He created all things by the Word (which Word is called both the Truth and the Power and the Wisdom of God, and by many other names is He set forth, who is commended to our faith, Jesus Christ our Lord, that is our Redeemer and Ruler, the Son of God, for no one could beget that Word by which all things were made but He who by Him made all things) therefore we

[b] Speciosissima species.

[c] On St. Augustine's language in citing the Apocrypha, see Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," s. v. Canon, vol. i. p. 255.

believe also in JESUS CHRIST, THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN, that is, THE ONLY SON OF GOD THE FATHER, OUR LORD. Which Word we are not to think like our words, which uttered by the mouth and voice strike the air and pass away, remaining no longer than while the sound is heard. For that Word remains unalterably. For of It it was said, when speaking of Wisdom, "Remaining in itself it makes all things new," (Wisd. vii. 27). Moreover, it is called the Word of the Father, because by It the Father makes Himself known. As, therefore, by our words, when we speak the truth, we make our mind known to the hearer, and the secret of our heart is uttered for another by signs of this description to be made cognisant of, so that Wisdom which God the Father begat is most fitly called "The Word," since by It the most secret Father makes Himself known to minds worthy of such knowledge.

4. But between our mind and our words by which we endeavour to make known that same mind, there is a very great difference. For we do not beget, but make the sounds of words, for the making of which the body affords the material. And between the mind and the body there is a very great difference. But God, when He begat the Word, begat what Himself is: and that neither of nothing nor of any matter already made and created, but of Himself that which Himself is. For this we also endeavour to do when we speak (if we carefully consider what we aim at), not when we lie, but when we speak truth. For what else do we aim at but to convey, if possible, that same mind of ours to the mind of the hearer that he may

know and understand it, so that we, remaining in ourselves and not departing from ourselves, do yet give forth a sign by means of which a knowledge of us is conveyed to another, so that, so far as is possible, the mind produces a second mind by which to make itself known? This we do, endeavouring both by words, and the sound of the voice, and the gestures of the body, all these so many contrivances, in our desire to make manifest what is within our breasts, because we cannot actually bring forward anything of the sort, and therefore the mind of the speaker cannot wholly make itself known: from whence also there is room for lies. But God the Father, who both would and could most truly declare Himself to minds which were to know Him, begat for the declaring of Himself that which Himself is; who is called also His Power and Wisdom, because by Him He formed and disposed all things, of whom, therefore, it is said, "He reacheth from one end to another mightily, and sweetly doth He order all things," (Wisd. viii. 1).

5. Wherefore, the ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD was neither made by the Father, because, as the Evangelist saith, "All things were made by Him," nor begotten in time, since the wise God hath eternally with Himself His eternal Wisdom; neither is He unequal to the Father, that is, less in any respect, for the Apostle saith, "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God." By this Catholic faith, therefore, they are excluded who say that the Son is the same as the Father, because this Word could be with no God but with God the Father, and where there is but one there is no equality. They also

are excluded who say that the Son is a Creature, though not such as the other creatures. For how great soever the creature they speak of, if He be a creature, He was created and made. For "condere" is the same as "creare," though in Latin "creare" is sometimes used for "gignere," but in Greek it is different. For we call "creatura" what they call κτίσμα or κτίσις, and when we would speak without ambiguity, we say not "creare" but "condere." Therefore, if the Son be a creature, how great soever He is, He was made. But we believe in Him "by Whom all things were made," not in Him by whom "all other things were made," for we cannot otherwise take "all things" but as meaning "whatsoever things" were made.

6. But forasmuch as "the Word was made flesh and dwelt in us" the same Wisdom which was begotten of God vouchsafed also to be created in men. To which pertain those words, "The Lord created me in the beginning of His ways[d]." For the beginning of His ways is the Head of the Church, which is Christ clothed with human nature, by whom might be given us an example of life, that is, a sure way by which to come to God. For we could not return but by humility, we who fell by pride, as it was said to our first parents, "Taste and ye shall be as gods." An example, therefore, of this humility, that is, of the way by which we

[d] Prov. viii. 22. See Athanasius' "Treatises against Arianism." Oxford Translation, p. 342, note a. The Septuagint has ἔκτισε, by which Athanasius understands "He created," though he explains it when applied to the Son as equivalent to "He begat." The old Latin has "creavit," Aquil. ἐκτήσατο. Vulg. "possedit."

must return, our Restorer Himself vouchsafed to set forth in Himself, Who thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation, taking upon Himself the form of a servant, that the Word by which all things were made might be created man in the beginning of his ways. For which cause, as He is the only-begotten, He has no brothers, as He is the first-begotten He has vouchsafed to give the name of brothers to all who after His primacy and through his primacy are born again into the grace of God, through the adoption of sons, as the Apostle teaches. The natural son, therefore, He was born of the very substance of the Father—the only Son, being what the Father is, God of God, Light of Light. But we are not light naturally, but are enlightened by that Light that we may shine with wisdom. "For that," saith the Evangelist, "was the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." To the belief, therefore, of eternal things we add also that temporal dispensation which our Lord vouchsafed to discharge and administer for our salvation. For so far as He is the only-begotten Son of God, we cannot say He "was" and He "will be," but only He "is." For that which "was" "is" not now, and that which "will be" "is" not yet. He, therefore, is unchangeable, free from the condition and variation of times. And it was simply for this cause, as I suppose, that He communicated that name of His to His servant Moses. For when Moses enquired of Him by whom he should say that he was sent, if the people to whom he was sent should make light of him, the Speaker answered, I am that I am, and then added, "Thus shalt thou say

to the children of Israel, HE THAT IS hath sent me unto you."

7. Hence it is plain to spiritual minds, I doubt not, that no nature can be contrary to God. For if He "is" (and of God alone can this word properly be used, for that which truly "is" remains unchangeably, since what is undergoing change was something which is not now, and will be what it is not yet) then God has no contrary. For if we were asked What is contrary to white? we should reply black; if What is contrary to hot? we should reply cold; if What is contrary to quick? we should reply slow, and the like. But when the question is, What is contrary to that which "is?" the right answer is, That which "is not"—non-entity.

8. But since, as I have said, through a temporal dispensation, our mutable nature, through the operation of God's goodness, was assumed by the immutable wisdom of God for our salvation and restoration, we add the belief of temporal actions done for us in order to our salvation, believing in that Son of God, who was BORN BY (*per*) THE HOLY GHOST OF THE VIRGIN MARY. For by the gift of God, that is, by the Holy Spirit, so great a humiliation of so great a God was vouchsafed to us, that He condescended to take upon Him perfect man in the Virgin's womb, His mother's body remaining inviolate both while He dwelt within it and when He left it. Which temporal dispensation is assailed by the craft of heretics in many ways. But whoever holds the Catholic faith, believing that the Word of God took upon Him perfect man, that is, body, soul, and spirit, is sufficiently fortified against them. For since that assumption was undertaken for our salvation,

we must beware lest believing that any part of us does not pertain to the assumption, that part does not pertain to the salvation: and since man, except in the form of his limbs, which differs in different kinds of animals, differs from the brutes only in the rational spirit, which is called the mind, how is that faith sound which believes that the wisdom of God assumed that part of us which we have in common with the brutes, but did not assume that part which is enlightened with the light of wisdom, and which is peculiar to man?

9. They also are to be abhorred who deny that our Lord Jesus Christ had a mother, Mary, on earth, seeing that the Incarnation put honour on both sexes, both male and female, and shewed that God's care extended not only to the sex which He assumed, but to that also through which He assumed it, bearing the form of a man, being born of a woman. Nor do those words, "What have I to do with thee, woman? Mine hour is not yet come," constrain us to deny Christ's mother. Rather they bid us understand that as regards God, the Person whose majesty He was about to manifest by changing water into wine, He had not a mother. But in that He was crucified, He was crucified as man. And that was the hour which was not yet come when He said, "What have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come," that is, the hour in which I shall acknowledge thee; for then, crucified as man, He acknowledged His human mother, and with all a man's affection committed her to the care of His much beloved disciple. Nor again does it stagger us, that when one told Him of His mother and His

brethren, He replied, "Who is My mother, or who are My brethren," &c.? Rather we are taught, that when our parents hinder our ministry whereby we minister the Word of God to our brethren, we are not to acknowledge them. For if any one imagines that He had not a mother on earth because He said "Who is My mother?" he must needs deny that the Apostles had fathers on earth, since He bade them "call no man father on earth, for One is your Father which is in heaven."

10. Neither should the thought of a woman's womb be a hindrance to our faith, as though such a generation of our Lord is to be disbelieved because sordid men account it sordid. For as the Apostle truly says, "The foolishness of God is wiser than men," and "To the pure all things are pure." They who thus think should consider that the rays of the sun, which they do not admire as a creature of God, but adore as God, are diffused everywhere in sewers and all sorts of horrible places, and act in these according to their nature, yet contract no contamination therefrom, although the visible light is naturally more allied to the visible filth, how much less then could the Word of God, which is neither corporeal nor visible, be defiled, when from a woman's body it took flesh together with soul and spirit, by the intervention of which (i.e. of soul and spirit) the majesty of the Word dwells withdrawn from the frailty of the human body! Whence it is plain that the Word of God can in no wise receive pollution from a human body, from which not even the soul of man receives pollution. For the soul is polluted by the body, not when it rules

and quickens it, but when it lusts after its mortal good things. But if those men would keep clear of the pollution of the soul, let them rather have a fear of these mendacious and sacrilegious notions.

11. But our Lord's humiliation in being born for us was a light matter. He vouchsafed also to die for mortals. "He humbled Himself, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross," that none of us, even though he might rise above the fear of death generally, might dread death even in one of its most ignominious forms.

We believe, therefore, in Him who was CRUCIFIED UNDER PONTIUS PILATE, AND BURIED. It was necessary to add the name of the judge to note the time.

In professing our belief of the Burial, we call to mind the new tomb which was to bear witness to Him when He should rise again to renewed life, as the Virgin's womb was to do when He should be born. For as no other dead man was buried in that tomb, either before or after, so in that womb no mortal thing was conceived either before or after.

12. We believe also that HE ROSE AGAIN FROM THE DEAD THE THIRD DAY, the first-born of brothers who should follow, whom He hath called to the adoption of sons of God, whom He hath vouchsafed to make joint-partners and joint-heirs with Himself.

13. We believe that HE ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN, which place of blessedness He hath promised also to us, saying, "They shall be as the angels of heaven," in that city which is the mother of us all, Jerusalem, eternal in the heavens. Some impious persons, however, are wont to be offended—whether Gentiles or

heretics—because we believe an earthly body to have been taken up into heaven. The Gentiles for the most part rest their opposition upon the arguments of philosophers, alleging that there cannot be anything earthly in heaven. But they know not our Scriptures, nor understand how it is said, "It is sown an animal body, it is raised a spiritual body." This does not mean that body is changed into spirit and becomes spirit, because now also our body which is called "animal" (animated by a living soul) is not changed into "anima," and made "anima" (is not changed into "soul" and made "soul"). But by a spiritual body is meant a body which is in such wise subdued to the spirit as to be fit for a heavenly habitation, all earthly weakness and impurity being transformed into heavenly purity and stability. This is the change of which the Apostle further says, "We shall all rise, but we shall not all be changed[e]," which change the same Apostle teaches will be not for the worse but for the better, when he says "And we shall be changed.". But where and after what manner the Lord's body is in heaven it is idle and impertinent to enquire. Only we must believe that it is in heaven. For it is not for our feeble intellects to discuss the secrets of the heavens, but for our faith to entertain high

[e] There are three several readings of this text (1 Cor. xv. 51). 1. Omnes quidem resurgemus, non omnes autem immutabimur, 2. Omnes dormiemus, non autem omnes immutabimur, and 3. The generally received text, which is not found in the ancient Latin copies, *πάντες οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα· πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα*. See Pearson, in his notes to his Exposition of the Seventh Article of the Creed.

and honourable thoughts of the dignity of the Lord's body.

14. We believe also that HE SITTETH AT THE RIGHT HAND OF THE FATHER. Not that we are, therefore, to think of God the Father as though He were circumscribed within a human form, so as to convey the notion of right hand or left; or when the Father is spoken of as "sitting," that we are to think of Him as with bended knees, and so be guilty of the impiety which the Apostle execrates in those who changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the similitude of corruptible man. Such an image of God it is unlawful to place in a Christian temple, much more abominable is it to place it in the heart, which is God's temple of a truth if it be cleansed from earthly lust and error. By the right hand, therefore, we are to understand "in supreme blessedness," where are righteousness, and peace, and joy, as on the left hand the goats are stationed, that is, in misery, by reason of their iniquities, sufferings, and torments. Accordingly, when God is spoken of as sitting this refers not to the posture of His limbs, but to that judicial authority which is at no time wanting to His majesty, but ever awards meet recompense according to men's deserts, although the glory of the only-begotten Son of God, the JUDGE OF QUICK AND DEAD, will be much more manifestly and confessedly exhibited among men at the last judgment.

15. We believe also that THENCE HE WILL COME, at the most fit time, AND WILL JUDGE BOTH THE QUICK AND THE DEAD, whether by those words we are to understand the righteous and the wicked, or whether by "the quick" are meant those whom He shall find

alive on the earth, by "the dead," those who shall rise at His coming.

This temporal dispensation whereby the Son of God was born in time, not only *is*, like that divine generation, whereby He is the Son of God, but also *was* and *will be*. For our Lord *was* on earth, and now *is* in heaven, and *will be* in glory, the judge of quick and dead. For He will come in like manner as He ascended, as we believe on the authority of the Acts of the Apostles. According to this temporal dispensation He speaks in the Apocalypse, where it is written, "These things saith He who is, and who was, and who is to come."

16. Both the divine and the human dispensation of our Lord having been set forth in order and commended to our faith, there is added, to complete the belief which we are to have concerning God, THE HOLY SPIRIT, not inferior in nature to the Father and the Son, but, so to say, consubstantial and co-eternal with them, because that Trinity is one God. Not that the Father is the same as the Son and the Holy Ghost, but that the Father is Father, and the Son Son, and the Holy Ghost Holy Ghost, and this Trinity one God, as it is written, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one God." Yet if we should be asked of each separately, Is the Father God? we should reply, God; Is the Son God? we should say the same; nor if a like question were asked respecting the Holy Ghost, ought we to answer that He is other than God, yet guarding with all watchful and earnest care against the sense in which it is said of men "Ye are gods." For they are not gods by nature who were made and created of the Father through the Son by the gift of

the Holy Ghost. For the Trinity is signified when it is said by the Apostle, "For of Him, and in Him, and through Him are all things." Although then if we were asked of each one severally, we should reply that He of whom we were asked is God, whether the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost, yet let no one suppose that we worship three Gods.

17. Nor is it matter of wonder that these things are said of an ineffable nature, when something of the like kind is found in things which we perceive with our bodily eyes and discern with our bodily sense. For if we are asked of a fountain, we cannot say that it is a river, nor if of a river can we call it a fountain; nor again can we call a draught taken from a fountain or from a river either fountain or river. Yet in this trinity we use the name of water, and when we are asked of each severally, we severally call it water. For if I ask whether what is in the fountain is water? the answer will be Water; and if what is in the river is water? no other answer will be given; and in the draught? the answer must still be the same. Yet we do not say Three waters but One water. Care, however, must be taken, lest any one should conceive of the ineffable substance of that Majesty as of the visible and corporeal fountain, or river, or draught. For in these the water which now is in the fountain goes forth into the river, and remains not in itself, and when it passes from the river or from the fountain into the draught, it remains not there from whence it is taken. So that the same water may one while be spoken of as fountain, another as river, another as draught, while in that Trinity as we have said, the

Father cannot be at one time the Son, at another the Holy Ghost. So likewise in a tree, the root is nothing but the root, and the trunk nothing but the trunk, nor can we call the branches anything but the branches; for that which is called the root cannot be called trunk and branches, nor can the wood which belongs to the root be, by any transition, one while in the root, another in the trunk, another in the branches, but only in the root; while yet the name holds of each: The root is wood, and the trunk wood, and the branches wood, and yet we do not say three woods but one. Or if there be some dissimilitude, so that, because of the diversity of compactness in the fibre, we may not improperly speak of three woods, yet this at all events all grant, that if from one fountain three cups are filled, we may speak of three cups, but not of three waters, only of one and but one water, although if asked of each cup severally, we should reply that in each of these is water, though there be no transition here such as we spoke of when we instanced the fountain and the river.

These material examples have been given, not because of any resemblance to that divine nature, but because of the unity which exists even in things visible, that it may be understood to be possible in some instances for three things, not only severally, but also conjointly to be designated by one singular name, and that no one should marvel and think it absurd that we call the Father God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, and yet that in that Trinity there are not three Gods, but one God and one substance.

18. Of the Father and the Son learned and spiritual

men have discoursed in many books, in which, so far as men could to men, they have endeavoured to explain both how the father and the Son are not one Person (*unus*) but one Substance (*unum*); and what is the property or distinctive character of the Father, what of the Son, as that the Father begat, the Son is begotten; the Father is not of the Son, the Son is of the Father. The Father is the origin (*principium*) of the Son, whence also He is said to be the Head of Christ, although Christ also is an origin (*principium*), but not of the Father. The Son also is the image of the Father, although in nothing unlike and altogether and without any difference equal. These matters are handled more at large by those who desire to explain the profession of the whole Christian faith with less brevity than is our purpose.

Therefore, in so far as He is the Son He has received His being from the Father, while the Father hath not received His being from the Son, and in so far as of His ineffable mercy He has, by a temporal dispensation, taken upon Him the nature of man, a mutable creature, to be changed for the better, many things are found said of Him in the Scriptures, which have led the wicked minds of heretics into error, desiring to teach before they understand, supposing that He is not equal to the Father nor of the same substance. Such are the following: "The Father is greater than I," and "The head of the woman is the man, and the head of the man Christ, and the head of Christ God." and "Then shall the Son also be subject unto Him who hath subjected all things unto Him," and "I go unto My Father and your Father, and to My God

and your God," and some more of this kind, all of which are said, not to signify inequality of nature and substance, otherwise those passages would be untrue, "I and the Father are one," and "He that hath seen Me hath seen My Father also," and "The Word was God," for He was not made when "all things were made by Him," and "He thought it not robbery to be equal with God," and the like—but these are said partly because of the economy of the Incarnation, in reference to which it is written, "He emptied Himself," ("made Himself of no reputation"), (not that that Wisdom was changed, since it is altogether unchangeable, but that He willed to become known to men in such humble wise) partly, therefore, because of this economy these things which heretics wrest were so written, partly because the Son owes it to the Father that He is, owing this also to the Father that He is equal to the Father, but the Father owes to none that He is whatever He is.

19. But concerning the Holy Ghost, His property on account of which we may call Him neither the Father nor the Son, but only the Holy Ghost, has not yet been fully and accurately investigated by learned expositors of the Divine Scriptures. Only they predicate of Him that He is the gift of God, yet a gift, we must believe, not inferior to God who gave it. Yet they observe this rule, that they do not say of the Holy Spirit that He is begotten, as a Son of the Father, for Christ is the only Son, nor as a Son of the Son, as though a grandson of the supreme Father, nor yet that He owes what He is to none (owing it really to the Father of whom are all things) lest we should

make two prime origins without an origin, which is most false and absurd, a doctrine not of the Catholic faith, but an error peculiar to certain heretics.

Yet some have ventured to believe that the actual communion between the Father and the Son, and so to say the Godhead, which the Greeks call Θεότης, is the Holy Ghost, so that since the Father is God, and the Son is God, the very Godhead whereby they are united, both the Father by begetting the Son, and the Son by cohering with the Father, and being made equal with Him by whom He is begotten, this Godhead then, by which they would also understand the mutual love and charity of them both, is called, they say, the Holy Ghost. And they support this opinion of theirs by many passages of Scripture, such as "The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given us," and many other like testimonies, and particularly where it is said that "We are reconciled to God through the Holy Ghost;" whence also when the Holy Ghost is called "The gift of God" they will have it that it is plainly enough signified that the Holy Ghost is the love of God. For we are not reconciled to Him but by love, by which also we have the name of sons, being no longer subject to fear as servants, because perfect love casteth out fear, and we have received the spirit of liberty "whereby we cry Abba, Father," and because, having been reconciled and restored to friendship by love, we shall be able to know all the secret things of God, therefore it is said of the Holy Ghost, "He shall lead you into all truth." Therefore also the confident boldness in preaching the truth with which the Apostles were

filled on His coming (Acts iv. 31, &c.) is rightly ascribed to charity, because the contrary spirit of diffidence is ascribed to fear, which perfect love casteth out. For this reason also It is called the gift of God, because a man does not enjoy what he knows unless he loves it, and to enjoy the wisdom of God is nothing else than to cleave to Him by love. Nor does any one continue in that which he perceives but by love, and on this account the Spirit is called Holy (*Sanctus*), i.e. consecrated and set apart, because whatsoever things are so consecrated (*sanciuntur*) are consecrated (*sanciuntur*) with a view to their continuance, and without doubt "sanctity" (*sanctitas*) is derived from *sancire*, (to consecrate). But the maintainers of this opinion rest most of all on the words "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit," for "God is a Spirit." For the passage refers to our regeneration, which is not after Adam, of the flesh, but after Christ, of the Holy Spirit. Wherefore if in this place where it is said "For God is a Spirit," the Holy Spirit is spoken of, it is to be observed, say they, that it is not said "For the Spirit is God," but "For God is a Spirit," so that the Godhead itself of the Father and the Son is here called "God," which is the Holy Ghost. To this is added another proof, these words, viz. of the Apostle John, "God is love." For here also it is not "Love is God" but "God is love," implying that the Godhead itself is love; and forasmuch as in that enumeration of things connected with each other, where it is said, "All things are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's," and "The head of the woman is the man, and the

head of the man Christ, and the head of Christ God," no mention is made of the Holy Spirit, the reason is, they say, that ordinarily in things which are connected with each other no mention is made of that which connects them. Whence attentive readers seem to recognize the Trinity in that place also where it is said "Of Him, and through Him, and in Him are all things." Of Him, as of Him who owes His being to none, "through Him" as through the Mediator, "in Him" as in Him who holds together (*continet*) i.e. conjoins by uniting[f].

20. This opinion is contradicted by those who think that that communion (whether we call it Godhead, or love, or charity,) is not a substance, and they would have the Holy Spirit explained to them as a substance, not understanding how it can be said that "God is love" unless love be a substance, being guided by their experience in corporeal things, since if two bodies are united so as to be placed close to each other, the union of them is not a body, seeing that when they are separated again no union remains, and yet we do not understand that it has departed and gone, as those bodies have done. But let these persons cleanse their hearts to the best of their power, that they may be able to see that God's substance is not such that in it substance is one thing and accident another, and not substance, but that whatever it can be understood to be is substance.

[f] On the progress of St. Augustine's view of the nature of the Holy Spirit, see Mr. Swete's learned work, "On the History of the Doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost," pp. 123—132.

But it is easy to say and to believe these things, though to see them as they are is impossible except to the pure in heart. Wherefore, whether this or some other opinion be true we must believe with faith unwavering that the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, and yet that this Trinity is not three Gods, but one God. And that they are not diverse in nature, but of the same substance, and that the Father is not at one time the Son, at another the Holy Ghost, but that the Father is always Father, and the Son always Son, and the Holy Ghost always Holy Ghost. And let us not rashly affirm anything of things invisible, as though we knew, but as believing that they cannot be seen save only by a heart made pure. And he who sees these things in this life "in part," as it is said, "and darkly (in a riddle)," cannot cause him to whom he speaks to see them if he be prevented by impurity of heart. But "blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." This is what we are to believe of God our Creator and Renovator.

21. But since we are commanded not only to love God, when it is said "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind," but also to love our neighbour, for it is said also "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," if this faith does not embrace the congregation and society of men in which brotherly love finds exercise, it is wanting in fruitfulness, therefore we believe also THE HOLY CHURCH, that is, the Catholic Church, for both heretics and schismatics call their congregations Churches. But heretics by holding erro-

neous opinions about God do violence to faith itself, and schismatics by wicked divisions break away from brotherly charity, although they believe what we believe. Wherefore neither heretics pertain to the Catholic Church, which loves God, nor schismatics because it loves its neighbour. And the Church readily forgives the sins of its neighbour because it prays for forgiveness for itself from Him who hath reconciled us to Himself, blotting out all our past sins, and calling us to a new life, till we receive which life in perfection we cannot be without sins. But it is of consequence of what sort those sins are.

22. Nor must we confine our consideration to the difference of sins, we must by all means believe, that our own sins can in no wise be forgiven if we are inexorable in refusing to forgive.

23. We believe, therefore, THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS.

And as there are three things of which man consists, spirit (*spiritus*), soul (*anima*), and body, which again are spoken of as two, because the soul and spirit are often included under one name, for a part of the soul, the rational part which the brutes lack, is called the spirit, the principal part of us is the spirit, next the life, by which we are united to the body, and is called the soul (*anima*), and last, the body itself, since it is visible, is the lowest part. This whole creature (consisting of these three parts) groaneth and travaileth together until now, but yet God hath given it the first-fruits of the spirit, because it believes God, and has already a good will. This spirit is also called the mind (*mens*), of which the Apostle says, "With the mind I serve the law of God," saying also in an-

other place, "God is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit (*spiritus*)."

But the soul (*anima*), since it still seeks after fleshly goods, is called flesh. For a part of it resists the spirit, not by nature but by the habit of sin. For which reason it is said, "With my mind I serve the law of God, but with my flesh the law of sin." Which habit has been changed into nature, in respect of our mortal generation, by the sin of the first man. And therefore it is written, "We also sometimes were by nature children of wrath," that is, of vengeance, through which it has come to pass that we serve the law of sin. But the nature of the soul (*anima*) is perfect when it is subject to the spirit and follows the spirit, the spirit following God. Therefore "the animal man (*animalis homo*) perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God." But the soul (*anima*) is not subdued to the spirit for good works as quickly as the spirit is to God for true faith and a good will: but at times it is slowly and with difficulty that its impulse whereby it is borne along after carnal and temporal things is restrained. But since it also is being cleansed, receiving stability of nature under the reign of the Spirit, which is its Head, as Christ is the Spirit's Head, we must not despair even of the restoration of the body to its proper nature: but, indeed, not so quickly as the soul, as neither the soul so quickly as the spirit, but at a meet time, at the last trump, when the dead shall rise incorruptible, and we shall be changed.

And therefore we believe also THE RESURRECTION OF THE FLESH; not only because the soul (*anima*) is

restored, which now by reason of carnal (fleshly) affections is called flesh; but even this visible flesh, which is naturally flesh, whose name the soul (*anima*) has received, not because of its nature but because of its carnal (fleshly) affections,—this visible flesh, which is properly called flesh (so we must without doubt believe) will rise again. For the Apostle Paul seems, as it were, to point to it with his finger, when he says, "This corruptible must put on incorruption." For when he says "this" he points to it with his finger, as it were, and that which is visible is capable of being so pointed at. Since the soul (*anima*) also might be called corruptible, for it is corrupted by immorality. And in these words—"This mortal must put on immortality," the same visible flesh is signified, because at it from time to time, ever and anon the finger is pointed, as it were. The soul (*anima*) also, inasmuch as it is corruptible because of immorality, may be called mortal. For apostasy from God is the death of the soul—the history of which, its first sin in Paradise, is contained in the sacred writings.

24. The body will rise therefore according to the Christian faith, which cannot deceive. If any one thinks this impossible he thinks of what flesh is now, he does not consider what it will be: because at that time of angelical change it will no longer be flesh and blood, but only body. For, speaking of flesh, the Apostle said, "There is one flesh of beasts, another of birds, another of fishes, another of serpents; and there are bodies celestial and bodies terrestrial." He does not say "celestial flesh," but "celestial and terrestrial bodies." For all flesh is body as well as

flesh, but not all body flesh as well as body; first, for example, in these terrestrial things, wood is body but not flesh, but in the case of man or beasts body is both body and flesh. But in celestial things there is no flesh, but bodies simple and lucid, which the Apostle calls spiritual, but some ethereal. The words, therefore, "Flesh and blood shall not inherit the Kingdom of God" do not contradict the resurrection of the flesh, but declare what that which is now flesh and blood will be hereafter.

Whoever does not believe that flesh can be thus changed must be led on to faith by degrees. For if you ask him whether earth can be changed into water, this because of their affinity does not seem incredible to him. Again, if you ask whether water can be changed into air, he replies neither is this impossible, for they are near neighbours; and if you ask whether air can be changed into an ethereal, that is, a celestial body, the affinity now makes him assent. What, therefore, he grants may be effected by these degrees—namely, that earth may be changed into an ethereal body—why does he not believe (when the will of God is added, by which a human body was able to walk upon the water) that it may be effected, with the utmost celerity, "in the twinkling of an eye," as it is said, without any degrees, just as very often smoke is changed into flame with wonderful celerity. For our flesh is of the earth. But philosophers, by whose arguments the resurrection of the body is very often withstood, asserting that no earthly body can be in heaven, grant that any body whatsoever can be converted and changed into any other body.

Which resurrection of the body when it has taken place, having been freed from the condition of time we shall have a perfect enjoyment of ETERNAL LIFE without corruption, with ineffable charity and permanence. For then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, "Death is swallowed up in victory. O death where is thy sting? O death where is thy quarrel?"

25. This is the faith which is given in the Creed in few words to new Christians to hold. Which few words are known to the faithful, that by believing they may be made subject to God, being made subject they may live rightly, by living rightly they may cleanse their heart, their heart being cleansed, they may understand what they believe.

FROM THE RETRACTATIONS, bk. i. ch. 27.

ABOUT the same time, while yet a presbyter, before and at the request of the Bishops who were holding a plenary Council of the whole of Africa at Hippo Regius, I delivered a discourse on *Faith and the Creed*, which, at the earnest request of some of my more intimate and attached friends, I committed to writing, wherein the matter is treated in such wise that yet the words are not given in the sequence in which they are delivered to the candidates for baptism to commit to memory.

In this tract, when treating of "the Resurrection of the flesh," I say "The body shall rise according to the Christian faith, which cannot deceive. If any

one thinks this impossible, he thinks of what flesh is now, he does not consider what it will be, because at that time of angelical change, it will no longer be flesh and blood but only body," and the rest which I said there about the change of terrestrial bodies into celestial, seeing that the Apostle said when speaking of that subject, "Flesh and blood shall not inherit the Kingdom of God."

But whoever so understands these words as to suppose that the terrestrial body, such as we now have, will be changed into a celestial body in such wise that there will be neither these limbs nor the substance of flesh, must without doubt be corrected, being admonished by the Lord's body, who, after His resurrection, appeared in the same members, not only visible to the eye but tangible to the hand, and even by His speech confirmed the reality and certainty of His flesh, saying, "Handle Me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see Me have." Whence it is plain that the Apostle does not deny that there will be the substance of flesh in the Kingdom of God, but either he calls those men who live after the flesh, "flesh and blood," or he means the actual corruption of the flesh which then assuredly will not be. For after saying, "Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God," he adds (it may well be understood by way of explanation), "neither shall corruption inherit incorruption." Whoever will read the last book on the City of God will find this subject (most difficult to convince unbelievers of) treated there as carefully as I was able, (*Bk.* 22, *Chapters* 5 and 21).

SERMON TO CATECHUMENS.

THE CREED AS COLLECTED FROM THE SERMON TO CATECHUMENS.

Circ. A.D. 400.

1. I BELIEVE in God the Father Almighty, § 2.
2. And in Jesus Christ, His only Son our Lord, § 3.
3. Who was born of (*de*) the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, § 6.
4. Suffered under Pontius Pilate,
   Was crucified, dead and buried, § 7.
5. Rose again the third day, § 9.
6. Ascended into Heaven, § 11.
   Sitteth on the right hand of the Father, § 11.
7. From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead, § 12.
8. And in the Holy Ghost, § 13.
9. The Holy Church, § 14.
10. The forgiveness of sins, § 15.
11. The Resurrection of the flesh § 17.
12. unto life eternal, § 17.

ON THE CREED; A SERMON TO CATECHUMENS.

Receive, my children, the Rule of Faith which is called the Creed (*Symbolum*), and when you have received it write it in your hearts, and say it to yourselves every day. Before you go to bed, before you leave your chamber, arm yourselves with your Creed. No body writes the Creed that it may be read, but for saying it over with yourselves, lest forgetfulness should obliterate what diligent instruction hath delivered (*tradidit*) to you, let your memory be your book. What you are going to hear that you are to believe, and what you shall have believed, that you will also repeat aloud. For the Apostle says, "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." For this confession to which the Apostle refers is the Creed which you are presently to say over (*recensuri*) to yourselves and to repeat (*reddituri*) aloud[ε].

These words which you have heard are scattered throughout the Divine Scriptures, but they have been collected from thence and brought together, that men of weak memory may not be over-burthened, that every one may be able to say, may be able to remember, what he believes.

[ε] See Rufinus, below, § 3, and for an interesting instance, St. Augustine's Confessions, Book viii. §§ 2—5. On the *Traditio* and *Redditio Symboli*, see Martene *de Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, l. 1, c. 1, art. xi.

Have you now only heard that God is Almighty? You will begin to have Him for your Father when you shall have been born through the Church, your mother.

2. From this Creed then you have heard, you have thought over with yourselves, you have laid up in your memories the words, "I BELIEVE IN GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY."

God is Almighty, and being Almighty He cannot die, He cannot be deceived, He cannot lie, and, as the Apostle says, "He cannot deny Himself." How many things are there which He cannot do, and yet is Almighty, and therefore Almighty because He cannot do them. For if He could die, He would not be Almighty, if He could lie, could be deceived, could deceive, could do wrong, He would not be Almighty. If He could do any of these He would be unworthy to be Almighty. Our Almighty Father is wholly incapable of sinning, He doth whatsoever He wills: that is to be Almighty. He doth whatsoever He well wills, whatsoever He righteously wills; but whatsoever is ill done He does not will. No one resists One that is Almighty so as to hinder Him from doing what He wills.

He made the heaven and the earth, the sea and all things that are therein, invisible and visible;—invisible, as, in the heavens, Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, Powers, Archangels, Angels, our fellow-citizens if we live well; visible,—He made in heaven the sun, the moon, the stars; He adorned the earth with its own terrestrial animals, He filled the air with creatures that fly, the land with creatures that walk and that creep,

the sea with creatures that swim; He filled all things with their own proper creatures. He made man also after His own image and similitude in mind, for in that is the image of God. For which reason the mind cannot be comprehended, not even by itself where the image of God is. We were made to have dominion over the other creatures; but through sin in the first man we fell and came down, all of us, to an inheritance of death. We became wretched mortals, we were filled with fears, with errors, by this desert of sin, with which desert and guilt every man is born. Therefore also, as you have seen to-day, as you know, even infants are exsufflated and exorcised [h], that the power of the devil, that enemy who deceived man that he might possess mankind, may be driven out of them. For it is not the creature of God which is exorcised or exsufflated in infants, but He under whom all are who are born with sin; for He is the prince of sinners. And for this cause, on account of one who fell, and by his fall subjected all to death, hath One been sent without sin, who should bring all who believe in Him to life, freeing them from sin.

3. We believe also, therefore, in His only Son, that is, THE ONLY SON OF GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, OUR LORD. When you hear "the only Son of God," acknowledge Him God. For the only Son of God could not be other than God. What God is that He begat; although He is not whom He begat. If the Son is a true Son He is what the Father is. If He is not

[h] See Bingham's *Origines*, Book 10, ch. 2, § 8; and Martene, l. 1. xi.

what the Father is, He is not a true Son. Look at mortals and creatures of the earth: what each is that it genders. A man does not gender a bull, nor a sheep a dog, nor a dog a sheep. Whatever that is which genders, the same is that which it genders. Hold, therefore, strongly, firmly, faithfully that God the Father begat the same which Himself, the Almighty, is. These mortal creatures gender through corruption. Does God so gender? Mortal born genders what it is; immortal genders what it is; corruptible genders corruptible, incorruptible incorruptible; corruptible corruptibly, incorruptible incorruptibly, yea, in such strict sort what itself is, that One begets One, and therefore "only." You know that when I said the Creed over to you I said thus, and thus you are to believe, "We BELIEVE IN GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, AND IN JESUS CHRIST HIS ONLY SON. Now when you believe Him to be "only," believe Him to be Almighty. For the case is not so that God the Father does what He wills, and God the Son does not what He wills. The Father and the Son have one will because they have one nature. For the Son's will cannot be severed from the Father's will in the least possible degree. God and God, both one God, Almighty and Almighty, both one Almighty.

4. We do not bring in two Gods as some do, who say, The Father God and the Son God, but the Father a superior God, the Son an inferior God. Both what? Two Gods? Thou art ashamed to say it, be ashamed to believe it. Thou callest the Father "Lord God," and the Son "Lord God," and the Son Himself saith "no man can serve two lords." Shall we also in his own

family, as in a great house where there is a father of the family and he has a son, so bear ourselves as to speak of a superior Lord and an inferior Lord. Detest the thought. If you frame such ideas in your heart, you set up idols in "one soul." Drive them away utterly. Believe first, then understand. For to whom God gives to believe and then presently to understand, it is God's gift, not the work of man's feeble powers. Yet if you do not yet understand, believe. The Father one God, Christ the Son of God, God. Both what? One God. And how both one God? you ask. How? Do you wonder? In the Acts of the Apostles we read, "And of those who believed, the soul was one and the heart one." There were many souls; faith had made them one. So many thousands of souls there were; they loved one another, and the many are one. They loved God with the fire of charity, and of the multitude they came to a unity of beauty. If charity made so many souls "one soul," of what sort is charity in God, with whom is no diversity but perfect equality? If on earth, and among men there could be so great charity as of so many souls to make one soul, in that place where the Father hath been always inseparable from the Son, the Son from the Father, could both be other than one God? Those souls might be said to be both many souls and one soul. God, in whom is an ineffable and most entire unitedness, may be called one God, not two Gods.

5. The Father doth what He will, the Son doth what He will. Think not the Father Almighty, and the Son not Almighty. It is an error, blot it out of your mind. Don't let it cling to your memory, don't

drink it in in your faith; and if perchance any one hath drunk it in vomit it forth. The Father is Almighty, the Son is Almighty. If Almighty did not beget Almighty, He did not beget a true Son. For what do we say, brethren, if the greater Father hath begotten a less Son? Why have I said hath begotten? For man being greater begets a son less than himself. True; but that is because the father becomes old, the son grows, and by growing attains to his father's stature. The Son of God, if He does not grow, because God cannot become old, was born perfect. Having been born perfect, if He does not grow and did not remain less, He is equal. For that you may know that He was born Almighty of Almighty, hear Himself who is the Truth. What the Truth saith of Himself, that is true. What saith the Truth? What saith the Son, who is the Truth? "Whatsoever things the Father doeth, the same doeth the Son likewise." The Son is Almighty by doing all things that He wills. For if the Father doeth some things which the Son doth not do, the Son said falsely, "Whatsoever things the Father doeth, the same doeth the Son likewise." But because He spake true, believe that "whatsoever the Father doeth, the same doeth the Son likewise." And ye have believed in "the Son Almighty." Which word though you said it not in the Creed, yet you implied it when you said you believed in the "only Son," Himself God. Hath the Father anything which the Son hath not? This the blaspheming Arian heretics say—not I. But what do I say? If the Father hath anything which the Son hath not, then the Son lies when He says, "All things which the Father hath are Mine." Many and without

number are the testimonies whereby it is proved that the Son is the true Son of God the Father, and that the Father, God, begat a true Son, God, and that Father and Son are one God.

6. But let us see what this only Son of God the Father Almighty hath done for us, what He hath suffered for us. "BORN OF THE HOLY GHOST AND THE VIRGIN MARY." That God so great, equal to the Father, was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, born in lowly wise, that by His lowliness He might heal the proud. Man exalted himself and fell, God humbled Himself and raised him. What is the lowliness of Christ? Man lay prostrate, and God stretched forth His hand to him as he lay. We fell; He descended. We were lying prostrate; He stooped down. Let us take hold of Him and rise, that we fall not into punishment. This then is His stooping down, "HE WAS BORN OF THE HOLY GHOST AND THE VIRGIN MARY." And this same human nativity is both lowly and lofty. How lowly? Because He was born a man of men. How lofty? Because of a Virgin. A Virgin conceived, a Virgin bore, and having borne, remained a Virgin still.

7. What follows? SUFFERED UNDER PONTIUS PILATE. This same Pontius Pilate held the office of governor and was judge when Christ suffered. The name of the Judge marks the time when He suffered under Pontius Pilate.—when HE SUFFERED, WAS CRUCIFIED, DEAD, AND BURIED. Who? What? For whom? Who? The only Son of God, our Lord. What? Crucified, dead, and buried. For whom? For ungodly and sinful men. Mighty condescension, mighty grace! "What

shall I render unto the Lord for all the benefits which He hath rendered unto me?"

8. He was born before all times, born before all worlds. "Born before"—before what, where there is no "before?" Do not let yourselves imagine any time whatever before that nativity of Christ by which He was born of the Father: of that nativity I mean by which He is the Son of God Almighty, the only Son, our Lord: of that I speak first. Do not in that nativity imagine a beginning of time. Do not imagine any space in eternity when the Father was and the Son was not. Since when the Father, since then the Son. What is "since when" when there is no beginning? Therefore the Father always without beginning, the Son always without beginning. Thou wilt say, How then was He born, if He hath no beginning? Of eternal co-eternal. There never was when the Father was and the Son was not; and yet the Son was begotten of the Father. What possible illustration can we find? We are in the midst of earthly things, in the midst of the visible creation. Let the earth give me an illustration. It does not. Let the water give me an illustration? It cannot. Let some animal give me an illustration? Neither can this. An animal genders, and that which genders is[1] what is gendered. But the father first, the son afterwards. Let us find something coeval, and believe something co-eternal. If we can find a father coeval with his son, and a son coeval with his father, let us believe God the Father coeval with His Son, and God the Son

[1] Probably the reading should be *est* not *et*.

co-eternal with His Father. On earth we can find a coeval, we cannot find a co-eternal. Let us extend the coeval and believe the co-eternal. Some one, perhaps, will say, Look here, when can you find a father coeval with his son, or a son coeval with his father? That a father may have a son he must be older, that a son may have a father he must be younger. But here, how is it possible that a Father can be coeval with his son, or a son with his father? Think of fire as a father, light as a son. See, we have found coevals. The moment fire comes into existence, it forthwith begets light. Neither is the fire before the light, nor the light before the fire. And if we ask which genders which, the fire the light, or the light the fire? your common sense tells you immediately, you all cry the fire the light, not the light the fire. Here, then, is a father beginning to be and a son at the same instant, neither preceding nor following. A father beginning to be, a son at the same instant beginning to be. If I have shewn you a father beginning to be, and a son beginning to be at the same instant, believe the Father not beginning to be, and with Him the Son also Himself not beginning to be. The One eternal the Other co-eternal. If you advance in knowledge you will understand. Strive to advance. Born you are, but you must grow also, because no one is full-grown, perfect and complete at birth. The Son of God could be born perfect, because He was born without time, co-eternal with the Father, before all things, not in age, but in eternity. He therefore, born co-eternal with the Father (of which generation the Prophet said, "Who shall declare his generation?"),

born of the Father without time, was born of a Virgin in the fulness of time. That birth (of a Virgin) times did precede. At the right time, when He willed, when He knew, then He was born. For He was not born against His will. None of us is born because he wills, and none of us dies when he wills. He was born when He willed, and died when He willed. As He willed He was born of a Virgin, as He willed He died on the cross. He did whatever He willed, because He was in such wise man that God lay concealed under His manhood. God assuming, man assumed—one Christ, God and man.

9. Of His cross what shall I speak? what shall I say? He chose the most extreme kind of death that His martyrs might not dread any kind of death. In man (i.e. in His human nature) He taught patience, on the cross He exhibited an example of it. There the work, that He was crucified, an example of the work, the cross, the reward of the work, the resurrection. On the cross He shewed us what we ought to bear, in the resurrection what to hope. Like a consummate master of the games He said, Do and take, Do the work and take the prize, contend and thou shalt be crowned. What is the work? Obedience. What is the prize? Resurrection without death. Why do I add "without death?" Because Lazarus rose and died. Christ rose—He dies no more; death shall no more have dominion over Him.

10. The Scripture saith, "Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord." When we read of Job's extreme sufferings we shudder, we are overwhelmed with fear, we tremble all over.

And what did he receive? Twice as much as he had lost. Shall a man, then, with a view to temporal rewards, be content to be patient, and say to himself, Let me bear loss, God will give me twice as many sons? Job received twice as many of all things, and begat as many sons as he had buried. Are they not twice as many then? Certainly, because the former also were alive. Let no one say, I will bear evils, and God will reward me as He rewarded Job. This would not be patience but avarice. For if that holy man had not had patience, and had not bravely borne the sufferings which befel him, whence could he have had the testimony which the Lord bore him? "Hast thou considered my servant Job," the Lord saith, "for there is no man like him on earth, uncomplaining, a true worshipper of God?" Of what a testimony, brethren, did God count this holy man worthy! And yet a bad woman would fain have deceived him by her persuasion. After the pattern of the serpent, who, in Paradise, deceived the first man whom God made, so now she also thought by suggesting blasphemy to succeed in deceiving a man who pleased God. How great were his sufferings, brethren! Who can suffer so much in his possessions, in his house, in his children, in his person, yea, in his wife, the temptress who remained to him? But even her Satan would long before have taken from him if he had not kept her to be his helper. He had overcome the first man by means of Eve, therefore he had kept this Eve. How great then were his sufferings! He lost everything that he had. Even his house fell—would that it had fallen alone! It crushed his sons also. And in proof of his

great patience, hear what he answered, when tidings were brought him, "The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away. As the Lord pleased, so hath it been done; blessed be the name of the Lord." He hath taken away what He gave. Is He lost to me who gave? Is He gone also? He hath taken away what He gave. As though He should say, He hath taken all. Let Him take all. Let Him send me away naked, and keep Himself for me. For what shall I lack if I have God! Or what good will other things do me, if I have not God! His flesh was touched next. He was smitten with sores from head to foot. He ran down with corruption, worms bred on him everywhere, yet he shewed himself immovable in his God, and remained firm. His wife, the devil's helper, not her husband's comforter, would fain have persuaded him to blaspheme. "How long," says she, "wilt thou suffer thus and thus? Curse God, and die." Therefore because he had been abased he was to be exalted. And the Lord did this to let men see that it was so. For Himself hath reserved better things for His servant in heaven. Therefore He hath exalted Job who had been humbled, He hath humbled the devil who had been elated; forasmuch as "He humbles one and exalts another." Let not any one, dearest brethren, when he suffers any such tribulations, expect a reward here. For instance, if he suffers the loss of anything, let him not say, in the hope that he shall receive twice as much, "The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away. As it hath pleased the Lord so hath it been done; blessed be the name of the Lord." Let it be patience not covetousness that praises God. If you seek to receive

as much again as you have lost, and therefore praise God, you praise Him from covetousness, not from love. Do not let the case of that holy man cross your mind. You deceive yourself. When Job endured all, he had no hope of twice as much in return. You may see this both in his first confession, when he suffered the loss of his goods, and the death of his sons, and in the second, when he was tormented with sores in his flesh. These are the words of his first confession, "The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away. As it pleased the Lord, so is it done, blessed be the name of the Lord." He might have said, "The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away. He who hath taken away can give again, can give again more than He hath taken." He did not say this, but "As it pleased the Lord, so hath it been done. Because it pleased Him let it please me. Let not that which hath pleased the good Lord displease His devoted servant; what hath pleased the physician displease the sick man." Hear another confession of his: "Thou hast spoken," he says to his wife, "as one of the foolish women. If we have received good at the hand of the Lord, wherefore should we not bear evil?" He did not add (what if he had added would have been true), "The Lord is able both to restore my flesh to its pristine state, and to increase many fold what He hath taken from us," lest his endurance of those sufferings should have seemed to rest upon that hope. This he did not say, this he did not hope for. But for our instruction, God gave them to Job, who did not hope for them, that we might be taught that God was with him, because if He had not requited him with these we should have been unable to see

his secret crown, and, therefore, what saith the Divine Scripture, exhorting to patience and the hope of future goods, not a present reward? "Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord." Why "the patience of Job," and not "ye have seen the end of Job himself?" You would have opened your mouth at the "twice as much." You would have said, "Thank God, let me endure, like Job I shall receive twice as much." "The patience of Job," "the end of the Lord." "The patience of Job" we know, and "the end of the Lord" we know. What "end of the Lord?" "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" They are the words of the Lord when He was hanging upon the cross. As though God forsook Him so far as regards present happiness, but forsook him not so far as regards eternal immortality. There is the end of the Lord. The Jews hold, the Jews mock, the Jews bind, crown with thorns, dishonour with spitting, scourge, overwhelm with reviling, hang upon the wood, pierce with the spear, last of all, bury. He is, as it were, forsaken and left, but by whom? By those who mocked Him. Therefore have patience, that thou mayest rise again and not die, that is, that thou mayest never die, as Christ never dies. For thus we read, "Christ rising from the dead, dieth no more."

11. "He ascended into heaven:" believe. "He sitteth at the right hand of the Father:" believe. By "sitteth" understand "dwelleth." As we say of any man, "he resided three years in that country." The Scripture also says that a certain man resided (literally "did sit") so long in a city. Did he sit and never rise up? Therefore men's dwellings are called "seats."

R. E. GRIFFIN

Where people are "seated," do they always sit? Do they not rise, do they not walk, do they not lie down? and yet they are called "seats." Thus, therefore, believe that Christ dwelleth at the right hand of God the Father. He is there. Don't say within yourself What is He doing? Seek not what you cannot find. He is there. That is enough. He is blessed, and from blessedness, which the right hand of the Father is called, the right hand of the Father is a name for blessedness itself. For if we should take the words carnally, "He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father," the Father will be at the (Son's) left hand. Is it lawful thus to place them, the Son on the right hand, the Father on the left? There, all is right hand, because there, there is no misery.

12. FROM THENCE HE SHALL COME TO JUDGE THE QUICK AND THE DEAD. "The quick," those who shall be still alive, "the dead," those who have gone before. It may also be understood thus—"the quick" the righteous, "the dead" the unrighteous. For He doth judge both, giving to each their due reward. To the righteous He will say in the judgment, "Come ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world." For this prepare yourselves, for these things hope, for this live, and thus live, for this believe, for this be baptized, that it may be said to you, "Come ye blessed of My Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." To those on the left what? "Go ye into fire eternal, prepared for the devil and his angels." Thus will the quick and the dead be judged by Christ.

We have spoken of the first nativity of Christ which is without time, we have spoken of another nativity of Christ, that of the Virgin, in the fulness of time, we have spoken of the passion of Christ, we have spoken of the judgment of Christ. All has been said that was to be said of Christ, the only Son of God, our Lord: but the Trinity is not yet complete.

13. There follows in the Creed "AND IN THE HOLY GHOST." This Trinity is one God, one nature, one substance, one power, perfect equality, no division, no diversity, perpetual charity. Would you know that the Holy Spirit is God? Be baptized, and you will become His temple. The Apostle saith, "Know ye not that your bodies are a temple within you of the Holy Ghost which ye have of God." God has a temple. For Solomon also, king and prophet, was commanded to build a temple for God. If he had built a temple for the sun, or the moon, or any of the stars, or any angel, would not God have condemned him? In building a temple, therefore, for God, he shewed that he was a worshipper of God. And of what did he build it? Of wood and stones, because God vouchsafed by His servant to make for Himself a house on earth, where He might be intreated, where His name might be made mention of. Whence blessed Stephen saith, "Solomon built Him a house. Howbeit, the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands." If, therefore, our bodies are a temple of the Holy Ghost, what manner of God is He who built a temple for the Holy Ghost? But it was God. For if our bodies are a temple of the Holy Ghost, He who built our bodies built a temple for the Holy Ghost.

Listen to the Apostle when he says, "God hath tempered the body, giving the greater honour to the part which lacked," speaking of the different members that there should be no schism in the body. God created our body. God created the grass. Who created our body? How do we prove that God created the grass? He who clothes, the same creates. Read the Gospel, "If, therefore, God so clothes the grass of the field," it saith, "which to-day is and to-morrow is cast into the oven." He therefore creates who clothes. And the Apostle (the Epistle), "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die, and that which thou sowest is not the body which shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat or of some other grain. But God giveth it a body as it pleaseth Him, and to every seed its own body." If, therefore, God build up our bodies, if God build up our members, and our bodies are a temple of the Holy Ghost, then doubt not that the Holy Ghost is God. And do not add as though a third God, because the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are one God. Thus believe.

14. There follows after the mention of the Trinity, "THE HOLY CHURCH." God has been set forth and His temple. "For the temple of God is holy," saith the Apostle, "which temple are ye." The same is the holy Church, the one Church, the true Church, the Catholic Church, contending against all heresies. Contend against them it can, vanquished in the contest it cannot be. All heresies have gone out from it like useless shoots lopped from a vine. But the Church herself remains in her root, in her vine, in

her charity. "The gates of hell shall not prevail against her."

15. THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS. You have the Creed complete when you are baptized. Let no one say, I have committed that particular sin, perhaps I shall not be forgiven. What sin hast thou committed? How great is the sin that thou hast committed? Name some enormous sin that thou hast committed,—dreadful, horrible, which thou dost shudder even to think of? Be it what it may, hast thou killed Christ? There is nothing worse than that, because there is nothing better than Christ. How dreadfully wicked is it to kill Christ! Yet the Jews killed Him, and many afterwards believed on Him, and drank His Blood. The sin which they committed was forgiven. When you have been baptized keep a good life in the commandments of God, that you may keep your baptism safe to the end. I do not say that you will live here without sin. There are venial sins, from which we cannot be free while we live. For all sins baptism has been provided: for light sins, from which we cannot be free, prayer has been provided. How runs the (Lord's) Prayer? "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors." In baptism we are washed once for all; by prayer every day. But beware you commit not those sins for which you will have to be separated from Christ's body, which God forbid. For the persons whom you see performing penance have committed crimes, either adulteries, or other enormities. For these they perform penance. For if their sins had been light sins, daily prayer would have sufficed to blot them out.

16. Therefore in three ways sins are forgiven in the Church, in baptism, by prayer, by the greater humiliation of penance, yet it is only to the baptized that God forgives sins. The very sins which He first forgives He forgives only to the baptized. When? At their baptism. The sins which are forgiven afterwards on prayer and on penitence, He forgives, where He does forgive, to those who have been baptized. For how can they say "Our Father," who have not yet been born? While they are yet Catechumens all their sins are upon them. If Catechumens, how much more Pagans! how much more heretics! But we don't change the baptism of heretics. Why? Because baptism is to them what his "mark" is to a deserter. They have it, but to their condemnation, not to their crown. And yet if a deserter, on being reclaimed, enters the ranks again, does any one dare to change his mark?

17. We believe also THE RESURRECTION OF THE FLESH, which was exemplified first in Christ, that the Body may hope for that which went before in the Head. Christ is the Head of the Church, the Church is the Body of Christ. Our Head is risen, is ascended into heaven. Where the Head is, there are the members.

How "the resurrection of the flesh?" Lest any should suppose it to be as in the case of Lazarus, that thou mayest know that it is not so, there is added "UNTO LIFE ETERNAL." May God regenerate you. May God preserve and keep you. May God bring you safe unto Himself who is the very life eternal. Amen.

ST. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.

LITTLE is known of St. Cyril's earlier life. He must have been born about the year 315, and was probably a native of Jerusalem. He was admitted to the priesthood by St. Maximus, bishop of the see, and, in the discharge of that office, delivered the course of lectures, of which the following is one.

He succeeded Maximus in the Episcopate about 350, St. Jerome and some other writers say, in a way far from creditable to himself. But a Council held at Jerusalem, consisting of many of the bishops who had been present at the Second General Council the year before, evidently glancing at the charge, speak of him, in a letter to Damasus and the bishops of the West, as the "most reverend and religious Cyril, long since canonically consecrated by the bishops of the province."

He has by some been suspected of a leaning towards Arianism, on the ground of his having been mixed up, more or less, with some of the Arian party. His writings, however, give no countenance to the charge. It is true he nowhere uses the term ὁμοούσιος, the symbol of orthodoxy in the controversy, but he expresses the truth of which it is the symbol most unequivocally again and again.

He died about 386.

St. Cyril's Lectures are twenty-three, or, including the Introduction, twenty-four in number. Lectures I. and II., as well as the Introductory Lecture, pre-

paratory to Baptism, Lecture III. on Baptism, Lectures IV.—XVIII. on the Creed. All of these are addressed to the most advanced class of Catechumens on the eve of baptism. The place where they were delivered was the Basilica of Constantine, or Church of the Holy Cross, situated close to the scene of our Lord's crucifixion, see below, § 10, p. 62. The five remaining Lectures, "On the Mysteries," are addressed to the same persons immediately after their baptism. They were unwritten, and were taken down probably by short-hand writers (ταχυγράφοι), as was the frequent case in the early Church, (*Bingh. Antiq.*, xv. 4, § 11).

The following Lecture (Lecture IV.) is a summary, by way of anticipation, of what is to be said in detail in the Lectures which follow. Besides the clear exhibition of doctrine which it contains, it abounds in plain practical instruction in matters of conduct, together with warnings against the different forms of heresy then prevalent, especially Manicheeism. In each respect it is full of suggestive matter, such as parochial clergymen of the present day might avail themselves of with advantage.

THE CREED OF JERUSALEM.

COLLECTED FROM ST. CYRIL'S LECTURES.

A.D. 348.

1. WE believe in one God, the Father Almighty,
   Maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible;
2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ,
   The only-begotten Son of God,
   Who was begotten, very God, of the Father before all worlds,
   By whom all things were made,
3. Who became incarnate,
   And was made man
   Of the Virgin and the Holy Ghost,
4. Who was crucified and buried, and descended into Hell,
5. Rose again the third day,
6. And ascended into the heavens,
   And sat down on the right hand of the Father,
7. And shall come in glory to judge the quick and the dead,
   Of whose kingdom there shall be no end;
8. And in one Holy Ghost, the Paraclete,
   Who spake in the Prophets;
10. And in one Baptism of repentance for the remission of sins,
9. And in one holy Catholic Church,
11. And in the resurrection of the flesh,
12. And in life eternal.

ON THE TEN DOCTRINES OF THE FAITH:

BEING THE FOURTH OF ST. CYRIL'S LECTURES TO CANDIDATES ON THE EVE OF BAPTISM.

Col. ii. 8, &c. "*Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world,*" &c.

1. VICE copies virtue, and tares would fain be counted wheat, being like it in outward form, but detected by persons who know the difference by the taste. Even the devil transforms himself into an angel of light, not that he may return where he was (for like an anvil his heart is unmalleable and his will incapable of repentance), but that he may involve those who are seeking to lead an angelical life in the darkness of blindness and the pestilent condition of unbelief. Many wolves go about in sheep's clothing. They have the clothing, indeed, of sheep, but assuredly not their hoofs and teeth. Being covered with a harmless fleece and deceiving the guileless by their outward show, they shed forth from their teeth the destructive poison of ungodliness.

We have need, therefore, of divine grace, and of a sober understanding, and of eyes that see, lest eating tares as though they were wheat, we should take damage from our ignorance, and lest, mistaking the

wolf for a sheep, we should be made a prey of, and lest imagining the ravening devil to be a good angel we should be devoured. For, as the Scripture says, "He goeth about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour." For this reason the Church admonishes, for this reason the present instructions are being given, for this reason the lessons (from Holy Scripture) are being read.

2. For godliness consists in these two things, religious doctrines and a good life. For neither are doctrines without good works acceptable to God, neither does God accept works that are not perfected with religious doctrines. For what does it profit,—to have a good knowledge of the doctrines concerning God, and withal to be shamefully given to fornication? What, again, to have one's appetites and passions well under control, and yet to be an impious blasphemer? It is a most important acquirement, therefore, to be instructed in doctrine.

And there is need of a wakeful spirit, since many are made a spoil of by philosophy and vain deceit. For the Greeks draw men aside by smooth speaking. For "honey drops from a harlot's lips." And they of the circumcision deceive those who come to them by means of the Divine Scriptures, which they miserably pervert, exercising themselves in them from childhood to old age, and growing old in ignorance. And the children of heretics, by good words and fair speeches, deceive the hearts of the simple, concealing under the name of Christ, as with honey, the poisoned darts of their impious doctrines. Concerning all of whom at once the Lord saith, "Take heed that no man deceive you."

For this cause have we both the teaching of the Faith (the Creed), and expositions of it.

3. But before delivering the Faith (the Creed)[k] I think it well in the present Lecture to handle the essential doctrines in a summary way, lest the multitude of the things which will be said, and the interval of the days of this whole sacred season of Lent should cause the simpler among you to forget. Thus scattering the seeds now summarily, we shall remember them when the same are dealt with more at large by-and-by. And let those here present who are of quicker wit, and have "their senses exercised to discern between good and evil," bear with me, while they listen to instructions more fitted for babes and sucklings, that together both they who have need of instruction may be benefited, and they who have knowledge may have their memory stirred up concerning the things which they know already.

I. God.

4. Let then the doctrine concerning God be laid first in your soul as a foundation, that God is one, sole, unbegotten, unoriginate, unchangeable, unalterable, not begotten by another, not having another to succeed Him in His life, neither beginning to live in time, nor ever ceasing to live: and that the same is good and just, so that if ever thou shouldst hear a heretic say, "The just God is one, and the good God another," forthwith being reminded thou mayest recognize the poisoned dart of heresy. For some have impiously dared to sunder the one God in their teaching. And

[k] The *Traditio Symboli*. See above, p. 34.

some have said that the Creator and Sovereign of the soul is one, and the Creator and Sovereign of bodies another: senseless and blasphemous doctrine! For how can a man be the one servant of two masters, when the Lord says in the Gospels, "No man can serve two masters?" God, then, is one and only one, the Maker of both souls and bodies; One is the Creator of heaven and earth, the Maker of angels and archangels, the Creator indeed of many, but of One and only One before the worlds, the Father of One and only One, his only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, by Whom He made all things both visible and invisible.

5. This God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, is not circumscribed in any place, neither is He less than the heaven, for "the heavens are the works of His fingers," and "the whole earth is held in His grasp." He is in all things and outside all things. Think not that the Sun is brighter than He, or equal to Him. For He who first framed the Sun must needs be incomparably greater and brighter. He foreknows the future, and is mightier than all. He knows all things and doeth as He wills, not being subject to the consequences of things, or to nativity, or chance, or fate. He is perfect and complete in all respects, and possesses equally every sort of excellence, neither waning nor waxing, but ever the same both as to the matter and as to the manner, having punishment prepared for sinners and crowns for the righteous.

6. Since then many have gone astray in various ways from the one God, and some have made a god of the Sun, that at night, when the sun sets, they may be left without God; and others of the moon, that in the

day-time they may have no God; and others of the other parts of the world; and others of arts, and others of meats, and others of pleasures; and some, mad after women, setting up an image of a naked woman on a high pedestal, and calling it Aphrodite, have worshipped lust under the visible form; and others, smitten with the brightness of gold, have made a god of it, and of other material objects: but if a man has first laid in his heart, as a foundation, the doctrine of the unity of God (*μοναρχία*), and be thoroughly persuaded of it, he crushes at once the whole brood of the evils of idolatry and of the error of heretics. Let then this doctrine of religion be first laid as a foundation in thy soul through faith.

II. Christ.

7. Believe also in the Son of God, the one and only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, God begotten of God, Life begotten of Life, Light begotten of Light, in all respects like Him that begat (*ὅμοιος κατὰ πάντα*), not having begun to be in time, but begotten of the Father eternally and incomprehensibly before all worlds, the insubstantial, personally subsisting Wisdom and Power and Righteousness of God, sitting on the right hand of the Father before all worlds. For the case is not, as some have thought, that He was crowned as it were by God after His passion, and as the reward of His patience seated on the right hand, but ever since He is (and He is ever by an eternal generation) He hath the royal dignity, sharing the Father's throne, being God, and Wisdom, and Might, as hath been said, reigning with the Father, and creating all things for the Father,

in no respect lacking of the dignity of Godhead, knowing Him that begat, even as He is known by Him that begat. And to sum up all in one word, remember what is written in the Gospels, "None knoweth the Son but the Father, neither doth any know the Father but the Son."

8. And neither do thou separate the Son from the Father, nor, confounding them, believe a *Son-fatherhood* (*υἱοπατορία*), but believe that of one God there is one only-begotten Son, God before all worlds, the Word,—not a spoken word poured forth into the air, nor made like unto impersonal, unsubstantial words, but the Word, the Son, the Maker of those that have the Word, the Word who hears the Father and speaks Himself. Concerning which matters it shall be spoken more at large in due season, if God permit. For we do not forget our present purpose—to give a summary exposition of the Faith.

III. The Virgin-birth.

9. Believe that this only-begotten Son of God for our sins came down from heaven to earth, having taken upon Him this manhood of like passions with us, and was born of the Holy Ghost and the holy Virgin; the taking of man's nature being not in show and illusion, but in reality and truth. Nor did He pass through the Virgin as through a conduit, but He was made flesh of her in verity, and was nourished with milk from her breast in verity, and ate as we in verity, and drank as we in verity. For if the taking of man's nature were an illusion, then is salvation an illusion. Christ was two-fold; what was apparent,

man, what was not apparent, God. As man, eating in verity as we, for He had flesh of like nature; as God, feeding the 5,000 with five loaves: as man, dying in verity; as God, raising the dead man who had been four days dead: as man, sleeping in the boat in verity; and walking upon the waters as God.

IV. The Crucifixion, the Burial, and the Descent into Hell.

10. He was crucified for our sins in verity. For if thou wouldst deny it, the place in view refutes thee—this blessed Golgotha, where we are now met together for His sake who was crucified here. And moreover almost all the world is now filled with pieces of the wood of the cross. But He was crucified not for His own sins, but that we might be delivered from ours. And He was despised by men then, and smitten on the face as man, but He was acknowledged by the creation as God. For the Sun seeing his Sovereign dishonoured, trembled and was eclipsed, not bearing the sight.

11. He was laid as man, in verity, in a sepulchre hewn out of a rock: but the rocks were rent asunder through fear because of Him. He descended into the realms beneath the earth that He might thence ransom the righteous. For wouldst thou (tell me) have the living enjoy the benefit of His grace, when the greater part of them are wicked, and not have those from this time forward set free who of long ages from Adam onward have been shut up in prison? Isaiah the prophet, who had with loud voice proclaimed so many

things concerning Him, wouldst thou not have the king ransom His herald when we went down? David was there, and Samuel, and all the prophets, and John himself, who asked by those whom he sent, "Art Thou He that should come, or do we look for another?" Wouldst thou not have Him ransom these when He descended?

V. The Resurrection.

12. But He who descended into the realms beneath the earth came up again, and Jesus who was buried rose again the third day in verity. And if at any time the Jews set upon you, meet them at once with this question, Did Jonah after three days come forth from the whale's belly, and hath not Christ after three days been raised from the earth? A dead man was raised at the touch of Elisha's bones, and shall not the Maker of men be much more easily raised by the Father's power? He arose then in verity, and having arisen, He was seen again by the disciples. And twelve disciples were witnesses of His resurrection, not witnessing with studied words but contending unto tortures and deaths for the truth of the resurrection. Moreover, "at the mouth of two or three witnesses," as saith the Scripture, "shall every word be established," but twelve witness to Christ's resurrection, and dost thou still disbelieve the resurrection?

VI. The Ascension.

13. Jesus having finished the course of His patience, and having ransomed men from their sins, ascended up again to heaven, a cloud receiving Him. Angels

stood by as He went up, and Apostles looked on. But if any one disbelieves the things which are told, let him believe the power of those which are now seen. When kings die their might in every case is extinguished with their lives. But Christ crucified is worshipped by the whole world. We proclaim the Crucified and the devils tremble. Many at one time or other have been crucified; but when did the invocation of any other crucified one drive away devils?

14. Let us not then be ashamed of the cross of Christ, but even though another do it secretly, do thou sign it openly upon thy forehead, that the devils seeing the royal sign may flee afar trembling. And make thou this sign eating and drinking, sitting, going to bed, getting up, speaking, walking, in a word, on every occasion. For He that was crucified on this spot is in heaven above. If, indeed, on being crucified and buried He had remained in the sepulchre we might have had cause for shame; but now He that was crucified on this Golgotha hath ascended from the mount of Olives on the east to heaven. For having descended from hence to hell, and from thence returned to us, from us He ascended again to heaven, His Father calling to Him and saying, "Sit Thou on My right hand until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool."

VII. The Judgment to come.

15. This Jesus Christ who hath gone up shall come again from heaven, not from the earth. I say "not from the earth," for many Antichrists are now about to come from the earth. For already, as thou hast

seen, many have begun to say, "I am the Christ." And hereafter shall come the "abomination of desolation" falsely assuming the title of the Christ. But do thou look for the true Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, henceforth coming not from the earth but from heaven, manifested to all beyond all brightness and brilliancy of light, attended by angel-guards, that He may judge the quick and the dead, and may reign over a kingdom heavenly, eternal, without end. Be well established on this point also, for there are many who say that "Christ's kingdom will have an end."

VIII. The Holy Ghost.

16. Believe also in the Holy Ghost, and have the same persuasion concerning Him which thou hast received to hold concerning the Father and the Son, and not such as is taught by those who teach blasphemous things about Him. But learn thou that this Holy Ghost is one, indivisible, of power manifold, manifold in operation, yet Himself without parts, knowing mysteries, "searching all things, even the deep things of God," Who came down in the form of a dove upon the Lord Jesus Christ, Who energized in the law and the prophets, Who now also at baptism will seal thy soul, of Whose holiness every intellectual nature hath need, Whom whoever dares to blaspheme hath no forgiveness either in this world or in the world to come, Who with the Father and the Son is honoured with the glory of Godhead, of Whom Thrones, and Dominions, and Principalities, and Powers have need. For there is one God, the Father of Christ, and one

Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of the only God, and one Holy Ghost, the Sanctifier and Deifier of all, Who spake in the Law and the Prophets, the Old Testament and the New.

17. Have at all times in thy mind this seal, which is now being spoken to thee cursorily in the way of summary, but shall be spoken by-and-by, if the Lord permit, to the best of my power, with proof from the Scriptures. For touching the divine and holy mysteries of the faith, so far from suffering ourselves to be carried away with specious arguments and studied language, not even the most ordinary matter ought to be received apart from the divine Scriptures. And do not simply believe me when I say these things unless thou receivest the proof of what is being said from the divine Scriptures. For this salvation which we believe is not of cunningly devised speech, but of proof from the divine Scriptures.

The Soul.

18. Next to the knowledge of this august, and glorious, and most holy faith, know thyself what thou art, that thou art a man of a double nature, consisting of soul and body, and that, as was said just now, one and the same God is the Maker both of soul and body. And know that thou hast a soul possessed of free-will, God's fairest work, made in the likeness of Him Who created it, immortal because of God Who gave it immortality, living, rational, incorruptible, because of Him Who endowed it with these gifts, possessed of power to do what it wills. For it is not thy nativity that constrains thee to sin, nor thy fortune that makes

thee a fornicator, nor, as some fondly talk, the conjunctions of the stars that force thee to be lascivious. Why, shrinking from acknowledging thine own evils, dost thou lay the blame on the innocent stars? Have thou nothing to do henceforward with astrologers, for of these the divine Scripture says, "Let the astrologers of heaven stand up and save thee," and "Behold all of them shall be burnt up as stubble in the fire, neither shall they deliver their soul from the flame."

19. Learn this also, that the soul had not sinned before it came into the world, but that having come into the world sinless we now sin of our own will. Do not hearken to any one misinterpreting the passage, "If I do that which I would not," but remember Him who says, "If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the fruit of the land," &c.; and again, "As ye yielded your members servants to uncleanness, and to iniquity unto iniquity, even so now yield your members servants to righteousness unto holiness." And remember the Scripture which saith, "As they did not choose to retain God in their knowledge," and "That which may be known of God is manifest in them," and "Their eyes have they closed," and again where God brings accusation against them, "I planted thee a fruitful vine, wholly a right seed; how art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine?"

20. The soul is immortal, and all souls both of men and women are alike; they differ only in the members of the body. There is not one class of souls which sin by nature, and another class which do right by nature; but both do what they do of free choice,

the substance of the soul being uniform and like in all.

I know that I am saying a great deal, and that the hour is late. But what is of more account than salvation? Wouldst thou not be at trouble to make provision against heretics? And wouldst thou not be made acquainted with the bye-paths which lead out of the way, lest through ignorance thou shouldst fall over a precipice? If thy teachers count it no small gain to teach thee these things, oughtest not thou, who learnest, to receive gladly the many things that are spoken?

21. The soul has free-will. The devil can tempt indeed, but he has no power to force thee against thy will. He suggests to thee a thought of fornication. If thou choosest thou hast admitted it, if thou choosest thou hast not admitted it. For if thou didst commit fornication of necessity wherefore has God prepared hell? If thou didst act right naturally, and not of free choice, wherefore has God prepared crowns ineffable? The sheep is a gentle animal, but never was a sheep crowned because of its gentleness, since its gentleness is not of choice but of nature.

The Body.

22. Thou hast learnt for the present, beloved, what concerns the soul. Now hear, so far as may be, what is to be said about thy body. Do not endure those who say that this body does not belong to God. For they who believe at all that the body does not belong to God, and that the soul dwells in it as in a vessel which belongs to another, readily abuse it for fornication. And what fault have they to find with this marvellous body?

For what lacks it in comeliness? What is there in its structure that is not skilfully devised? Ought they not to consider the brightness of the eyes? and the ears, how, placed sideways, they receive sounds without hindrance, and how the sense of smell discriminates scents, and is susceptible of odours; and the tongue, how it ministers to two uses, taste and speech; how the lungs, hidden within the body, incessantly respire the air? Who framed this unintermittent beating of the heart? Who distributed through the body such a number of veins and arteries? Who cunningly entwined the bones with muscles? Who arranged that part of our food should be converted into the substance of our bodies, and that part should be separated? and concealed our immodest members in modest places? Who, when the human race would have failed, caused it to be unfailing by means of a simple union?

23. Do not tell me that the body is a cause of sin. For if the body is a cause of sin, why does not a dead man commit sin? Put a sword into the hand of a man just dead, yet no murder ensues. Let beauty of every sort pass by a young man just dead, yet no lustful desire is moved. Why? Because the body sins not of itself, but the soul by the body. The body is the instrument, and, so to speak, the garment and robe of the soul. If it is delivered over by the soul to fornication, it becomes unclean, but if it dwells with a holy soul, it becomes a temple of the Holy Ghost. It is not I who say this, but the Apostle Paul says, "Know ye not that your bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you?" Be careful, therefore,

of thy body, as being the temple of the Holy Ghost. Pollute not thy flesh with fornication, defile not this most beautiful robe of thine. But if thou hast defiled it aforetime, wash it now by repentance. Wash thyself while yet there is time.

24. And on the subject of chastity, especially let the order of monks and virgins attend to it, who succeed in leading an angelical life in the world. A great crown is in store for you, brethren. Do not barter a great dignity for a little pleasure. Hearken to the Apostle, "Lest there be any fornicator or profane person as Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold his birthright." Having had thy name inscribed in the angelical books as a professor of chastity, see that thou be not blotted out again for the commission of fornication.

25. And let not those who have been married but once reject those who have been entangled in a second marriage. Continence is a good thing and admirable. But a second marriage is to be permitted, lest the weak should commit fornication. "It is good for them," says the Apostle, "if they remain as I; but if they cannot contain let them marry; for it is better to marry than to burn." But let all other sort be banished quite away, fornication, adultery, and every description of licentiousness. And let the body be kept chaste for the Lord, that the Lord also may have respect to the body. And let the body be nourished with food, that it may live and minister without hindrance, but surely not that it may be delivered over to luxury.

Meats.

26. Concerning food take these directions, since many stumble in the matter of meats also. For some

partake of things offered to idols without scruple; while others abstain and condemn those who eat. And some have their souls polluted in the matter of meats in different ways, not understanding the reasons both for eating and forbearing to eat. For we fast, abstaining from wine and flesh, not abhorring these as though they were abominable in themselves, but looking for the reward, that disregarding things sensible, we may enjoy a spiritual and intellectual table, and that, having sown in tears now, we may reap with joy in the world to come. Do not, therefore, despise those who eat and, because of the weakness of their bodies, partake of food. Nor blame those who "use a little wine for their stomach's sake and their often infirmities," nor condemn them as sinners. Neither do thou hate flesh, as though it were the property of another (god). For such the Apostle knew when he spake of men "forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thankfulness by those who believe." Wherefore, abstaining from these, abstain from them not as abominable, since in that case thou hast no reward, but disregard them, though good, for the more excellent spiritual things which are set before thee.

27. Be sure thou never eatest anything which has been offered to idols. For concerning these meats it is not I only who warn you, but the apostles also, and James, the bishop of this Church. And the Apostles and elders write a Catholic Epistle to all the Gentiles, bidding them first of all to abstain from things offered to idols, and next from blood and that which has been strangled. For numbers of men, having the nature of

wild beasts and living like dogs, lap up blood after the manner of the most savage beasts, and greedily devour things strangled. But do thou, when thou eatest, O servant of Christ, eat with discretion. Let this suffice for meats.

Dress.

28. Let thy dress be simple, not for display, but for necessary covering; not to minister to vanity, but to keep thee warm in winter, and to hide the immodesty of the body. Do not, out of pretence of hiding immodesty, fall, through over-nicety of apparel, into immodesty of another kind.

IX. The Resurrection.

29. Have a care, I pray thee, of this body; and know that thou shalt be raised from the dead to be judged with this body. And if an unbelieving doubt suggests itself, as though the thing were impossible, from thine own history consider what lies beyond the reach of sight. For thyself, tell me, think where thou wast a hundred years ago or more. From what a minute and most paltry substance art thou come to such tallness of stature and such dignity of mature manhood! Well then, cannot He who brought that which had no existence into existence, raise again that which already exists after it has been dissolved? Will He who raises the wheat, which every year for our sakes is sown and dies, have any difficulty in raising us, for whose sakes the same wheat is raised? Thou seest how the trees have remained so many months without fruit and without leaves, yet all of them, when the winter is gone, will revive again as from the dead. Shall not we

also much more and much more easily live again? The rod of Moses was transformed by the will of God into the heterogeneous nature of a serpent, and shall not man, after he is dead, be restored again to himself?

30. Give no heed to them who say that this body will not be raised. For it will be raised, and Isaiah is witness: "The dead shall rise, and they who are in the graves shall be raised;" and "Many of those that sleep in the dust of the earth shall rise," according to Daniel, "some to eternal life and some to eternal shame." But though all men must rise, the resurrection is not alike to all. For all shall receive bodies that will endure for ever, but not all bodies of like kind; the righteous, that through eternity they may be associated with the choirs of angels, sinners, that they may eternally suffer the punishment of their sins.

X. Baptism, for the Remission of Sins.

31. For this cause, the Lord, of His loving-kindness towards man, anticipating our need, hath granted the repentance of baptism, that, having cast off the multitude, or rather the entire load, of our sins, and having received the seal by the Holy Ghost, we may become heirs of eternal life. But as we spoke sufficiently about baptism the other day, let us now go on with the introductory instructions which remain.

The Divine Scriptures.

32. These things the divinely inspired Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments teach us. For the God of the two Testaments is one and the same, Who proclaimed beforehand in the Old the Christ Who was manifested in the New, Who, by the Law and the

Prophets, was our schoolmaster unto Christ. "For before that faith came we were kept under the Law," and "the Law was our schoolmaster unto Christ." And if thou shouldst at any time hear a heretic blaspheming the Law and the Prophets, answer him straightway with the saving word, "Jesus came not to destroy the Law but to fulfil." Learn diligently also, and from the Church, which are the books of the Old Testament and which of the New. And read none of the Apocryphal books. For thou who knowest not the books that are acknowledged by all, why dost thou vainly weary thyself about those which are questioned? Read the Divine Scriptures, these two-and-twenty books of the Old Testament which were translated by the seventy-two translators.

33. For on the death of Alexander, King of the Macedonians, his kingdom having been divided into four sovereignties, the Babylonian, the Macedonian, the Asian, and the Egyptian, one of the Egyptian kings, Ptolemy Philadelphus, being a great lover of learning, and collecting books from every quarter, having heard from Demetrius Phalereus, his librarian, of the Divine books of the Law and the Prophets, and judging it much better to get possession of the books not by constraint from their unwilling owners, but rather by propitiating them with presents and friendliness, and knowing that what is obtained by compulsion is often tampered with, being given unwillingly, but that that which is given freely is granted in all good faith, he sent to Eleazar, the High Priest at that time, very many presents for the temple of Jerusalem here, and caused him to send him six translators

from each of the twelve tribes of Israel. Then, to prove whether the books were divine or not, and to guard against collusion among the translators, he assigned to each of them a separate cell in the place called Pharos, near Alexandria, and gave to each the whole of the Scriptures to translate. And when they had completed their task in seventy-two days, he brought together the versions which they had made in separate cells without having met, and found that they agreed not only in the sense but even in the words. For their work was not a specious device and artful contrivance of human sophistry: but the translation of the Divine Scriptures which were spoken by the Holy Ghost was accomplished by the Holy Ghost.

34. Of these read the two-and-twenty books: but have nothing to do with the Apocrypha. Study these diligently, and these only, which we read publicly in the Church. Much wiser and more religious than thou were the apostles and the ancient bishops, the prelates of the Church, who handed these on to us. Do not thou, then, being a son of the Church, transgress what they have ordained.

Of the Old Testament, then, as has been said, study the two-and-twenty books, which, if thou art an apt scholar, be at pains to remember by name, while I repeat them.

Of the Law there are first the five Books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. Next, Joshua, the son of Nun, and the Book of Judges, together with Ruth, which makes the seventh in number. Of the remaining historical Books the first and second Books of Kings are one book in the Hebrew

reckoning, and the third and fourth also one book. In like manner also the first and second of Chronicles are with them one book. And the first and second of Ezra are counted one. Esther makes the twelfth book. These are the Historical Books. The books in verse are five—Job, and the Book of Psalms, and Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs,—which makes the seventeenth Book. Next, the Prophetical Books, five. One Book of the twelve Prophets, of Isaiah one, and one of Jeremiah with Baruch and the Lamentations and the Epistle, then Ezekiel, and Daniel, the twenty-second Book of the Old Testament.

35. Of the New Testament the four, and only four, Gospels, all others are spurious and hurtful. The Manichees have written also a Gospel according to Thomas, which, disguised under the fragrance of the evangelical title, destroys the souls of the simpler. Receive also the Acts of the Twelve Apostles, and, in addition to these, the seven Catholic Epistles of James, and Peter, John, and Jude; and to seal the whole and the last work of the disciples, the fourteen Epistles of Paul. Let all the others be put in the second rank. And whatsoever are not read in Churches, these do not thou read, as thou hast been told. So much for these.

36. But shun all diabolical agency, and trust not the apostate dragon, who, of a good substance originally, was changed of his own free choice, who can persuade those who are willing, but can constrain no one. And give no heed to astrologies, or auguries, or omens, or the fabulous prophecies of the Greeks. And do not even listen to witchcraft and incantations and the most wicked practices of necromancy. Abstain from intem-

perance of every sort. Avoid gluttony and pleasure seeking. And be above all love of money and usury. And do not turn aside to the heathen gatherings in their spectacles. And never use amulets in sickness. And avoid the vulgarity of frequenting taverns. And fall not away to Samaritanism or Judaism. For from this time Jesus Christ hath redeemed thee. Keep clear of all perverse observance of Sabbaths, and of calling any meats which are indifferent common or unclean. Especially hate all the assemblies of wicked heretics. And in all ways secure thine own soul by fastings, prayers, alms, and readings of the Divine Oracles, that having lived the remainder of thy life in the flesh with sobriety and religious doctrines, thou mayest enjoy the one salvation of baptism. And so, having been enrolled as a soldier to God the Father in the armies of heaven, thou mayest be counted worthy also of the heavenly crowns, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to Whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

RUFINUS.

Tyrannius Rufinus was born at Concordia, a small town in the Diocese of Aquileia, about the year 340. His early training was in a monastery at Aquileia, where he had St. Jerome for a fellow student, and became united to him in close friendship. He was not baptized till about 370. Shortly afterwards he went to Rome, on his way to Egypt, where he wished to make himself acquainted with the monastic life as practised by the monks of the desert. St. Athanasius was still living when he was at Alexandria, so that his visit to Egypt must have taken place in or before 373. From Egypt he went to Jerusalem, where, with funds supplied by a wealthy Roman lady, he built a monastery, in which he resided for several years. At Jerusalem he renewed his friendship with St. Jerome, whom he found there, or who joined him after his arrival; but a controversy arising about the writings of Origen, the two friends espoused opposite sides, and that with so much warmth and exasperation (*tantæne animis cælestibus iræ?*) that though the breach was healed for a time it eventually broke out again with fresh bitterness, never afterwards to be repaired.

Towards the close of the century Rufinus left Palestine and returned to Italy, much of his time being spent at Rome, from whence, on the invasion of the Visigoths, under Alaric, he fled to Sicily. There he died in 410.

The Creed which forms the subject of Rufinus's Commentary is that of Aquileia, the Church of his baptism, as himself states, § 3, but he mentions, from time to time, points in which it differs from the Creed of the Church of Rome, and thus incidentally enables us to ascertain the Roman Creed of his day. In expounding it he makes continual use of St. Cyril's Catechetical Lectures, delivered in the year 348, with which he probably became acquainted at Jerusalem. His Commentary was highly prized both in the early and in the mediæval Church, and has been largely used by subsequent expositors[a]. It is no slight proof of its reputation that it has been ascribed both to St. Cyprian and St. Jerome[b].

[a] Gennadius, who flourished at the end of the fifth century, says, that compared with it no other work on the Creed deserves the title of an exposition—"Ut in ejus comparatione alii nec exposuisse credantur."

[b] There is a *princeps editio* of it in the Bodleian Library, in which it is ascribed to St. Jerome. "*Exposicio Scti Jeronimi in Symbolum Apostolorum ad Papam Laurentium.*" The following notice is attached to this book in the case in which it is kept: "Printed according to the Colophon at Oxford, in 1468 (MCCCCLXVIII.), nine years before Caxton's first printing in Westminster. If the date were right, this book would be the first printed in England. It is, however, morally certain that an 'x' has dropped out of the date, and that the book was printed in 1478." It is difficult to understand how any one who has seen the Colophon with his own eyes can endorse this assertion.

THE CREED OF AQUILEIA,

As collected from Rufinus's Commentary.

Circ. A.D. 400.

1. I Believe in God the Father Almighty, § 3.
   Invisible and impassible; § 5
2. And in Jesus Christ His only Son, our Lord, § 6.
3. Who was born of (*de*) the Holy Ghost of (*ex*) the Virgin Mary, § 9.
4. Was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried, § 14.
5. Descended into Hell, § 14.
   Rose again from the dead the third day, § 29.
6. Ascended into heaven, § 31.
   Sitteth on the right hand of the Father, § 31.
7. From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead, § 31;
8. And in the Holy Ghost, § 35.
9. The Holy Church,
10. The forgiveness of sins, § 40.
11. The Resurrection of this flesh[c]. §§ 41, 43.

[c] N.B.—I have followed the ordinary division, which includes our Lord's Descent into Hell and His Resurrection under one article. Rufinus would probably, like St. Cyril (above, p. 62), have connected the Descent with the Burial rather than with the Resurrection. But, in any case, as his Creed lacked our present 12th Article, while yet he assigned a several article to each Apostle, his mode of division must have differed from ours.

THE ROMAN CREED

As collected from Rufinus's Commentary and St. Leo's Epistles [d].

A.D. 400—461.

1. I Believe in God the Father Almighty;
2. And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord,
3. Who was born of (*de*) the Holy Ghost of (*ex*) the Virgin Mary,
4. Was crucified under Pontius Pilate and was buried,
5. Rose again from the dead the third day,
6. Ascended into heaven,
   Sitteth on the right hand of the Father,
7. From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead;
8. And in the Holy Ghost,
9. The Holy Church,
10. The Forgiveness of Sins,
11. The Resurrection of the Flesh.

[d] See *De Fide et Symbolo*, p. 39.

A COMMENTARY ON THE APOSTLES' CREED.

By Tyrannius Rufinus, Presbyter of Aquileia.

My mind has as little inclination for writing as sufficiency, most faithful Bishop (*Papa*) Laurentius[e], well knowing that it is a matter of no little peril to submit a slender ability to general criticism. But since in your letter you rashly (forgive my saying so) require me, by Christ's sacraments, which I hold in the greatest reverence, to compose something for you concerning the Faith, in accordance with the traditional and natural meaning of the Creed, although in so doing you impose a burthen upon me beyond my strength to bear (for I do not forget the saying of the wise, that "to speak of God even what is true is perilous"); still, if you will aid with your prayers the necessity which your requisition has laid upon me, I will try to say something, moved rather by a reverential regard for your injunction than by presumptuous confidence in my ability, which may seem not so much worthy of the consideration of persons of mature understanding, as adapted to the capacity of children and young beginners in Christ.

I find, indeed, that some eminent writers have published treatises on these matters piously and briefly

[e] Nothing is known of this Pope Laurentius. The title "Papa," at first given to Bishops promiscuously, was not yet restricted to the Bishop of Rome; Gregory VII., in a Council held at Rome in 1073, forbad it to be given to any other.

written. Moreover, I know that the heretic Photinus has written on the same, but with the object, not of explaining the meaning of the text to his readers, but of wresting things simply and truthfully said in support of his own dogma, when yet the Holy Spirit has taken care that in these words nothing should be set down which is ambiguous or obscure, or inconsistent with other truths, for therein is that prophecy verified, "Finishing and cutting short the word in equity: because a short word will the Lord make upon the earth[f]." It shall be our endeavour, then, either to restore and consign to the Apostles' words their own simple meaning, or to supply such things as seem to have been omitted by former expositors. But that the scope of this "short word," as we have called it, may be made more plain, we will enquire from the beginning how it came to be given to the Churches.

2. Our forefathers have handed down to us the tradition, that after the Lord's ascension, when, through the coming of the Holy Ghost, tongues of flame had settled upon each of the Apostles, that they might speak diverse languages, so that no race however foreign, no tongue however barbarous, might be inaccessible to them and beyond their reach, they were commanded by the Lord to go severally to the several nations to preach the word. Being on the eve therefore of departing from one another, they first mutually agree upon a standard of their future preaching, lest haply, when separate, they might in any instance vary in the statements which they should make to those whom they should invite to believe in Christ. Being all therefore

[f] Isaiah x. 22, 23, Septuag., and so cited Rom. ix. 28.

met together, and being filled with the Holy Ghost, they compose, as we have said, this brief formulary of their future preaching, each contributing his several sentence to one common summary: and they ordain that the rule thus framed shall be given to those who believe.

To this formulary, for many and most sufficient reasons, they gave the name of Symbol. For Symbol (Σύμβολον) in Greek answers to both "Indicium" (a sign or token) and "Collatio" (a joint contribution made by several) in Latin. For this the Apostles did in these words, each contributing his several sentence. It is called "Indicium" or "Signum," a sign or token, because, at that time, as the Apostle Paul says, and as is related in the Acts of the Apostles, many of the vagabond Jews, pretending to be apostles of Christ, went about preaching for gain's sake or their belly's sake, naming the name of Christ indeed, but not delivering their message according to the exact traditional lines. The Apostles therefore prescribed this formulary as a sign or token by which he who preached Christ truly, according to Apostolic rule, might be recognised. Finally, they say, that in civil wars, since the armour of both sides is alike, and the language the same, and the custom and mode of warfare the same, each general, to guard against treachery, is wont to deliver to his soldiers a distinct symbol or watchword—in Latin "signum" or "indicium"—so that if one is met with, of whom it is doubtful to which side he belongs, being asked the symbol (watchword), he discloses whether he is friend or foe. And for this reason, the tradition continues, the Creed is not written on paper or parch-

ment, but is retained in the hearts of the faithful, that it may be certain that no one has learnt it by reading, as is sometimes the case with unbelievers, but by tradition from the Apostles.

The Apostles therefore, as we have said, being about to separate in order to preach the Gospel, settled upon this sign or token of their agreement in the faith; and, unlike the sons of Noah, who, when they were about to separate from one another, builded a tower of baked bricks and pitch, whose top might reach to heaven, they raised a monument of faith, which might withstand the enemy, composed of living stones and pearls of the Lord, such that neither winds might overthrow it, nor floods undermine it, nor the force of storms and tempests shake it. Right justly, then, were the one, when, on the eve of separation, they builded a tower of pride, condemned to the confusion of tongues, so that no one might understand his neighbour's speech; while the others, who were building a tower of faith, were endowed with the knowledge and understanding of all languages; so that the former might prove a sign and token of sin, the latter of faith.

But it is time now that we should say something about these same pearls, among which is placed first the fountain and source of all, when it is said,—

3. I Believe in God the Father Almighty.

But before I begin to discuss the meaning of the words, I think it well to mention that in different Churches some additions are found in this article. This is not the case, however, in the Church of the city of Rome. The reason being, as I suppose, that, on the one hand, no heresy has had its origin there,

and, on the other, that the ancient custom is kept up, that those who are going to be baptized should rehearse the Creed publicly, that is, in the audience of the people, the consequence of which is that the ears of those who are already believers will not admit the addition of a single word. But in other places, as I understand, additions appear to have been made, on account of certain heretics, by means of which novelty in doctrine, it was believed, might be excluded. We, however, follow that order which we received when we were baptized in the Church of Aquileia.

I Believe, therefore, is placed in the forefront, as the Apostle Paul, writing to the Hebrews, says, "He that cometh to God must first of all believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of those who believe on Him." The Prophet also says, "Except ye believe, ye shall not understand." That the way to understand, therefore, may be open to thee, thou dost rightly first of all profess that thou believest; for no one embarks upon the sea, and trusts himself to the deep and liquid element, unless he first believes that he may have a safe voyage; neither does the husbandman commit his seed to the furrows and scatter his grain on the earth, but in the belief that the showers will come, together with the sun's warmth, through whose fostering influence, aided by favouring winds, the earth will produce and multiply and ripen its fruits. In fine, nothing in life can be transacted if there be not first a readiness to believe. What wonder then, if, coming to God, we first of all profess that we believe, seeing that, without this, not even common life can be lived. We have premised these remarks at the outset, since the Pagans

are wont to object to us that our religion, because it lacks reasons, rests solely on belief. We have shewn, therefore, that nothing can possibly be done or remain stable unless belief precede. Finally, marriages are contracted in the belief that children will be born; and children are committed to the care of masters in the belief that the teaching of the masters will be transferred to the pupils; and one man assumes the ensigns of empire, believing that peoples and cities and an armed army also will obey him. But if no one enters upon any one of these several undertakings but in the belief that the results spoken of will follow, how is not belief much more requisite if one would come to the knowledge of God? But let us see what this "short word" of the Creed sets forth.

4. "I BELIEVE IN GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY." The Eastern Churches almost universally deliver the article thus, "I believe in ONE God the Father Almighty;" and again in the next article, where we say, "And in Christ Jesus, His only Son, our Lord," they deliver it, "And in ONE (Lord) our Lord Jesus Christ, His only Son;" confessing, that is, "one God," and "one Lord," on the authority of the Apostle Paul. But we shall return to this by-and-by. For the present, let us turn our attention to the words, "In God the Father Almighty."

"God," so far as the human mind can form an idea, is the name of that nature or substance which is above all things. "Father" is a word expressive of a secret and ineffable mystery. When thou hearest the word "God," understand a substance without beginning, without end, simple, uncompounded, invisible, incorporeal,

ineffable, inappreciable, in which nothing is added, nothing created. For He is without cause who is absolutely the cause of all things. When thou hearest the word "Father," understand the Father of a Son, which Son is the image of the aforesaid substance. For as no one is called "Lord" unless he have a possession or a servant whose lord he is, and as no one is called "master" unless he have a disciple, so no one can possibly be called "father" unless he have a son. This very name of "Father," therefore, shews plainly that, together with the Father there subsists a Son also.

But how God the Father begat the Son discuss not, nor intrude too curiously into the profound mystery, lest haply, whilst thou pryest too pertinaciously into the brightness of light inaccessible, thou lose the faint glimpse which, by the gift of God, has been vouchsafed to mortals. Or, if thou supposest that this is a subject to be investigated with all possible scrutiny, first propose to thyself questions which concern ourselves, and then, if thou art able to deal satisfactorily with them, speed on from earthly things to heavenly, from visible to invisible. Determine first, if thou canst, how the mind, which is within thee, generates a word, and what is the spirit of memory which is in it; and how these, though diverse in reality and in operation, are yet one in substance or nature; and though they proceed from the mind, yet are never separated from it. And if these, though they are in us and in the substance of our own soul, yet seem to be hidden from us in proportion as they are invisible to our bodily sight, let us take for our enquiry things which are more open to view. How does a fountain

generate a river from itself? By what spirit is it borne into a rapidly flowing stream? How happens it, that while the river and the fountain are one and inseparable, yet neither can the river be understood to be, or can be called, the fountain, nor the fountain the river, and yet he who has seen the river has seen the fountain also? Exercise thyself first in explaining these, and discuss, if thou art able, things which thou hast in thy hands; and then thou shalt come to loftier matters. Yet think not that I would have thee ascend all at once from the earth above the heavens; but first, please, let me lead thee forth to this firmament which our eyes behold, and there discuss, if thou canst, the nature of this visible luminary,—how that celestial fire generates from itself the brightness of light, how it also produces heat; and though these are three in reality, how they are yet one in substance. And if thou art able also to investigate each of these, know that the mystery of the Divine generation is still by so much the more diverse and the more transcendent in proportion as the Creator is more powerful than the creatures, as the artificer is more excellent than his work, as He who ever is is more noble than that which had its beginning out of nothing.

That God then is the Father of His only Son our Lord is to be believed, not discussed; for it is not lawful for a servant to dispute about the nativity of his lord. The Father hath borne witness from heaven, saying, "This is My beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased: hear Him." The Father saith that He is His Son and bids us hear Him. The Son saith, "He who seeth Me seeth the Father also," and "I and the Father are one," and "I came forth from God and am come into

the world." Who is he that thrusts himself as a disputant between these words of the Father and the Son, and divides the Godhead, separates the relation, breaks asunder the substance, divides the spirit, denies that to be true which the Truth saith? God then is a true Father as the Father of the Truth, not begetting extrinsically, but generating the Son from that which Himself is, that is, so to speak, the Wise generating Wisdom, the Just Justice, the Everlasting Everlasting, the Immortal Immortality, the Invisible Invisible, because Light, generating Brightness, because Mind, generating the Word.

5. Now whereas we said that the Eastern Churches, in their delivery of the Creed, say, "In one God the Father Almighty," and "in one Lord," the "one" is not to be understood numerically but absolutely. For example, if one should say, "one man" or "one horse," here "one" is used numerically. For there may be a second man and a third, or a second horse and a third. But where a second or a third cannot be added, if we say "one" we mean one not numerically but absolutely. For example, if we say "one Sun," here the meaning is that a second or a third cannot be added, for there is but one Sun. Much more then is God, when He is said to be "one," called "one," not numerically but absolutely, that is, He is therefore said to be one because there is no other. In like manner, also, it is to be understood of the Lord, that He is one Lord, Jesus Christ, by or through Whom God the Father possesses dominion over all, whence also, in the next clause, God is called "Almighty."

God is called ALMIGHTY because He possesses rule

and dominion over all things[g]. But the Father possesses all things by His Son, as the Apostle saith, "By Him were created all things, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers." And again, writing to the Hebrews, he saith, "By Him also He made the worlds," and "He appointed Him heir of all things." By "appointed" we are to understand "generated." Now if the Father made the worlds by Him, and all things were created by Him, and He is heir of all things, then by Him He possesses rule also over all things. Because, as light is born of light, and truth of truth, so Almighty is born of Almighty. As it is written of the Seraphim in the Revelation of John, "And they have no rest day and night, crying Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, which was and which is and which is to come, the Almighty." He then who "is to come" is called "Almighty." And what other is there who "is to come" but Christ, the Son of God?

To the foregoing is added "INVISIBLE AND IMPASSIBLE." I should mention that these two words are not in the Creed of the Roman Church. They were added in our Church, as is well known, on account of the Sabellian heresy, called by us "the Patripassian," that is, which says that the Father Himself was born of the Virgin and became visible, or affirms that He suffered in the flesh. To exclude such impiety, therefore, concerning the Father our forefathers

[g] Quod omnium teneat potentatum—the universal Potentate—ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πάντων κρατῶν, ὁ πάντων ἐξουσιάζων (*Cyril. Hieros. Catech.*, 8, § 3). Rufinus evidently had St. Cyril's exposition in view here as repeatedly elsewhere.

seem to have added these words, calling the Father "invisible and impassible." For it is evident that the Son, not the Father, became incarnate and was born in the flesh, and that from that nativity in the flesh the Son became "visible and passible." Yet so far as regards that immortal substance of the Godhead, which He has one and the same with the Father, neither the Father, nor the Son, nor the Holy Ghost is to be believed "visible or passible." But the Son, in that He condescended to assume flesh, was both seen and also suffered in the flesh. Which also the Prophet foretold when he said, "This is our God: no other shall be accounted of in comparison of Him. He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob His servant and to Israel His beloved. Afterward He shewed Himself upon the earth, and conversed with men[h]."

6. Next there follows, "And in Christ Jesus, His only Son, our Lord." "Jesus" is a Hebrew word meaning "Saviour." "Christ" is so called from "Chrism," i.e. unction. For we read in the Books of Moses, that Auses, the son of Nave, when he was chosen to lead the people, had his name changed from "Auses" to "Jesus," to shew that this was a name proper for princes and generals, for those, namely, who should "save" the people who followed them. Therefore, both were called "Jesus," both the one who conducted the people, who had been brought forth out of the

[h] Baruch iii. 35—37. Baruch is not specified by name in Rufinus's list of the Canonical books, but it is in Cyril's, as though a part of Jeremiah, "Jeremiah, with Baruch and the Lamentations and the Epistle," (*Catech.* 4, § 36). Above, p. 76.

land of Egypt, and freed from the wanderings of the wilderness, into the land of promise, and the other, who conducted the people, who had been brought forth from the darkness of ignorance, and recalled from the errors of the world, into the kingdom of heaven.

"Christ" is a name proper either to High Priests or Kings. For formerly both high priests and kings were consecrated with the ointment of Chrism: but these, as mortal and corruptible, with material and corruptible ointment. Jesus is made Christ, being anointed with the Holy Spirit, as the Scripture saith of Him, "Whom the Father hath anointed with the Holy Spirit sent down from heaven." And Isaiah had prefigured the same, saying in the person of the Son, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, for which cause He hath anointed Me, He hath sent Me to preach good tidings to the poor."

Having shewn then what "Jesus" is, Who saves His people, and what "Christ" is, Who is made a High Priest for ever, let us now see in what follows, of Whom these things are said, "His only Son, our Lord." Here we are taught that this Jesus, of whom we have spoken, and this Christ, the meaning of whose name we have expounded, is "the only Son of God" and "our Lord." Lest, perchance, thou shouldst think that these human names have an earthly significance, therefore it is added that He is "the only Son of God, our Lord." For He is born One of One, because there is one brightness of light, and there is one word of the understanding. Neither does an incorporeal generation degenerate into the plural number, or suffer division, where He Who is born is in no wise separated from Him

Who begets. He is "only" (unique), as thought is to the mind, as wisdom is to the wise, as a word is to the understanding, as valour is to the brave. For as the Father is said by the Apostle to be "alone wise," so likewise the Son alone is called wisdom. He is then the "only Son." And although in glory, everlastingness, virtue, dominion, power, He is what the Father is, yet all these He hath not unoriginately as the Father, but from the Father, as the Son, without beginning and equal; and although He is the Head of all things, yet the Father is the Head of Him. For so it is written, "The Head of Christ is God."

7. When thou hearest the word "Son," think not of a nativity after the flesh; but remember that it is spoken of an incorporeal substance, and a simple and uncompounded nature. For if, as we said above, whether when the understanding generates a word, or the mind sense, or light brings forth brightness from itself, nothing of this sort is sought for, or any manner of weakness and imperfection imagined in this kind of generation, how much purer and more sacred ought to be our conception of the Creator of all these!

But perhaps you say, "The generation of which you speak is an unsubstantial generation. For light does not produce substantial brightness, nor the understanding generate a substantial word, but the Son of God, it is affirmed, was generated substantially." To this we reply, first, When in other things examples or illustrations are used, the resemblance cannot hold in every particular, but only in some one point for which the illustration is employed. For instance, When it is said in the Gospel, "The kingdom of

heaven is like leaven, which a woman hid in three measures of meal," are we to imagine that the kingdom of heaven is in all respects like leaven, so that like leaven it is palpable and perishable so as to become sour and unfit for use. But the illustration was obviously employed simply for this object—to shew how, out of the simple preaching of God's word, men's minds might be able to coalesce by the leaven of faith. So likewise, when it is said, "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a net cast into the sea, which draws in fishes of every kind," are we to suppose that the substance of the kingdom of heaven is likened in all respects to the nature of twine of which a net is made, and to the knots with which the meshes are tied? But the sole object of the comparison is to shew that as a net brings fishes to the shore from the depths of the sea, so by the preaching of the kingdom of heaven men's souls are liberated from the depth of the error of this world. From whence it is evident that examples or illustrations do not answer in every particular to the things which they are brought to exemplify or illustrate. Otherwise, if they were the same in all respects they would no longer be called examples or illustrations, but rather would be the things themselves.

8. Then further it is to be observed that no creature can be such as its Creator. And therefore as the divine substance or essence admits of no comparison, so neither does the Divinity. Moreover, every creature is of nothing. If therefore an unsubstantial spark which fire is begets of itself a creature which is of nothing, and in this preserves the condition of its own

original (i.e. is fire as the parent spark is), why could not the substance of that eternal Light, which ever hath been because it hath in itself nothing insubstantial, produce from itself substantial brightness? Rightly, therefore, is the Son called "only," "unique." For He who hath been so born is "only" and "unique." Nor can that admit of comparison which is "only," "unique." Nor can He who made all things be like in substance to the things which He has made. This then is Christ Jesus, the only Son of God, who is also our Lord. "Only" may be referred both to Son and to Lord. For Jesus Christ is "only" both as truly Son and as one Lord. For all other sons, though they are called sons, are so called by the grace of adoption, not by verity of nature; and if there be others who are called lords, they are called so from an authority bestowed not inherent. But Christ alone is the only Son and the only Lord, as the Apostle saith, "One Lord Jesus Christ, by Whom are all things." Therefore, after the Creed hath in due order set forth the ineffable mystery of the nativity of the Son from the Father, it now descends to the dispensation which He vouchsafed to enter upon for man's salvation. And of Him whom just now it called the "only Son of God," and "our Lord," it now saith,

9. "WHO WAS BORN BY (*de*) THE HOLY GHOST OF THE VIRGIN MARY." This nativity among men is in the way of dispensation, or economy, the former is of the divine substance or essence; the one of condescension, the other by nature. He is born by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin. Here a chaster ear and a purer mind is required. For understand that now

a temple hath been built within the secret recesses of a Virgin's womb for Him of Whom erewhile you learnt that He was born ineffably of the Father. And just as in the sanctification of the Holy Ghost no thought of imperfection is to be admitted, so in the Virgin-birth no defilement is to be imagined. For this birth was a new birth given to this world, and rightly new. For He Who is the only Son in heaven is by consequence the only Son on earth, and was uniquely born, born as no other ever was or can be.

The words of the Prophets concerning Him, "A Virgin shall conceive and bring forth a Son," are known to all, and are cited in the Gospels again and again. The Prophet Ezekiel too had predicted the miraculous manner of that birth, calling Mary figuratively "the Gate of the Lord," the gate, namely, through which the Lord entered the world. For he saith, "The gate which looks towards the East shall be closed, and shall not be opened, and no one shall pass through it, because the Lord God of Israel shall pass through it, and it shall be closed." What could be said with such evident reference to the inviolate preservation of the Virgin's condition? That Gate of Virginity was closed; through it the Lord God of Israel entered; through it He came forth from the Virgin's womb into this world; and the Virgin-state being preserved inviolate, the gate of the Virgin remained closed for ever. Therefore the Holy Ghost is spoken of as the Creator of the Lord's flesh and of His temple.

10. Begin from this point to understand the majesty of the Holy Ghost also. For the Gospel witnesses of Him that when the angel said to the Virgin, "Thou

shalt bring forth a Son and shalt call His name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins," she replied, "How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?" on which the angel said to her, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. Wherefore that holy Thing which shall be born of Thee shall be called the Son of God." See here the Trinity mutually co-operating with each other. The Holy Ghost is spoken of as coming upon the Virgin, and the Power of the Highest as overshadowing her. What is the Power of the Highest but Christ Himself, Who is the Power of God and the Wisdom of God? Whose is this Power? The Power of the Highest. There is here then the Highest, there is also the Power of the Highest, there is also the Holy Ghost. This is the Trinity, everywhere latent, and everywhere apparent, distinct in names and persons, but inseparable in the substance of the Godhead. And although the Son alone is born of the Virgin, yet there is present also the Highest, there is present also the Holy Ghost, that both the conception and the bringing forth of the Virgin may be sanctified.

11. These things, since they are asserted upon the warrant of the Prophetical Scriptures, may possibly silence the Jews, infidel and incredulous though they be. But the Pagans are wont to ridicule us when they hear us speak of a Virgin-birth. We must, therefore, say a few words in reply to their cavils. Every birth, I suppose, depends upon three conditions. There must be a woman of mature age, she must have intercourse with a man, her womb must not be barren. Of these three conditions, in the birth of which we are speaking,

one was wanting, the man. And this, forasmuch as He of Whose birth we speak was not an earthly but a heavenly man, was supplied by the Heavenly Spirit, the virginity of the mother being preserved inviolate. And yet why should it be thought marvellous for a virgin to conceive, when it is well known that the Eastern bird, which they call the Phœnix, is in such wise born or born again without the intervention of a mate, that it remains continually one, and continually by being born or born again succeeds itself[i]? That bees know no wedlock, and no bringing forth of young, is notorious. There are also other things which are found to be subject to some such law of birth. Shall it be thought incredible, then, that that was done by divine power, for the renewal and restoration of the whole world, of which instances are observed in the nativity of animals? And yet it is strange that the Gentiles should think this impossible, who believe their own Minerva to have been born from the brain of Jupiter. What is more difficult to believe, or what more contrary to nature? Here, there is a woman, the order of nature is kept, there is conception, and in due time birth; there, there

[i] The fable of The Phœnix was very generally believed in the ancient Church, and was used as an illustration both of the Virgin-birth, as here, and of the Resurrection. Cyril of Jerusalem (xviii. 8), whom Rufinus evidently had in view, refers to it as a providentially designed confirmation of the latter. Possibly the Septuagint translation of Ps. xcii. 12, "The righteous shall flourish as a palm-tree," ὡς φοῖνιξ, may have been thought to sanction the fable. On the Literature connected with the Phœnix, see Bp. Jacobson's edition of the Apostolical Fathers, Clemens Romanus, Ep. i. § 25, note, p. 104.

is no female, but a man alone, and—birth! Why does he who believes the one marvel at the other? Again, they say that Father Bacchus was born from Jupiter's thigh. Here is another portent, yet it is believed. Venus also, whom they call Aphrodite, was born, they believe, of the foam of the sea, as her compounded name shews. They affirm that Castor and Pollux were born of an egg, the Myrmidons of wasps. There are a thousand other things which, though contrary to nature, find credit with them, such as the stones thrown by Deucalion and Pyrrha, and the crop of men sprung from thence. And when they believe such and so many myths, does one thing seem impossible to them, that a woman of mature age, not defiled by man but impregnated by the Holy Ghost, should conceive a divine progeny? who, forsooth, if they are hard of belief, ought in no wise to have given credence to those so many and so degrading prodigies; but if they do believe them, they ought much more readily to receive these beliefs of ours, so honourable and so holy, than theirs so discreditable and so vile.

12. But they say, perhaps, If it was possible to God that a virgin should conceive, it was possible also that she should bring forth, but they think it unmeet that so great majesty should enter the world in such wise, that even though there had been no defilement from intercourse with man, there should yet be the unseemliness attendant upon the act of delivery. To which let us reply briefly, meeting them on their own level. If a person should see a little child in the act of being suffocated in a quagmire, and himself, a great man and powerful, should go into the mire, just at its verge, so

to say, to rescue the dying child; would you blame this man as defiled for having stepped into a little mire, or would you praise him as merciful, for having preserved the life of one that was perishing? But the case supposed is that of an ordinary man. Let us return to the nature of Him Who was born. How much, thinkest thou, is the nature of the Sun inferior to Him? How much, beyond doubt, the Creature to the Creator? Consider now if a ray of the sun alights upon a quagmire, does it receive any pollution from it? or is the sun the worse for shedding his light upon foul objects? Fire, too, how far inferior is its nature to the things of which we are speaking? Yet no substance, whether foul or vile, is believed to pollute fire if applied to it. When the case is plainly thus with regard to material things, dost thou suppose that aught of pollution and defilement can befal that supereminent and incorporeal nature, which is above all fire and all light? Then, lastly, note this also: we say that man was created by God out of the clay of the earth. But if God is thought to be defiled in seeking to recover His own work, much more must He be thought so in making that work originally. And it is idle to ask why did He pass through what is repugnant to our sense of modesty, when thou canst not tell why He made what is so repugnant. And therefore it is not nature but general estimation that has taught us that these things are such. Otherwise, all things that are in the body, being formed from one and the same clay, are distinguished from one another only in their uses and natural offices.

13. But there is another consideration which we

must not leave out in the solution of this question, namely, that the substance of God, which is wholly incorporeal, cannot be introduced into bodies or be received by them in the first instance, unless there be some spiritual substance as a medium, which is capable of receiving the divine Spirit. For instance, if we say that light is able to irradiate all the members of the body, yet by none of them can it be received except by the eye. For it is the eye alone which is receptive of light. So the Son of God is born of a virgin, not associated with the flesh alone in the first instance, but begotten with a soul as a medium between the flesh and God. With the soul, then, serving as a medium, and receiving the Word of God in the secret citadel of the rational spirit, God was born of the Virgin without any such disparagement as thou imaginest. And therefore nothing is to be esteemed base or unseemly wherein was the sanctification of the Spirit, and where the soul which was capable of God became also a partaker of flesh. Account nothing impossible where the power of the Most High was present. Have no thought of human weakness where there was the plenitude of Divinity.

14. He was Crucified under Pontius Pilate and was Buried: He Descended into Hell. The Apostle Paul teaches us that we ought to have "the eyes of our understanding enlightened that we may understand what is the height and breadth and depth." "The height and breadth and depth" is a description of the Cross, of which that part which is fixed in the earth he calls the depth, the height that which is erected upon the earth and reaches upward, the breadth that

which is spread out to the right hand and to the left. Since, therefore, there are so many kinds of death by which it is given to men to depart this life, why does the Apostle wish us to have our understanding enlightened so as to know the reason why, of all of them, the Cross was chosen in preference for the death of the Saviour. We must know, then, that that Cross was a triumph. It was a signal trophy. A triumph is a token of victory over an enemy. Since then Christ, when He came, brought three kingdoms at once into subjection under His sway (for this He signifies when he says, "That in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth"), and conquered all of these by His death, a death was sought answerable to the mystery, so that being lifted up in the air, and subduing the powers of the air, He might make a display of His victory over these supernal and celestial powers. Moreover the holy Prophet says that "all the day long He stretched out His hands" to the people on the earth, that He might both make protestation to unbelievers and invite believers: finally, by that part which is sunk under the earth, He signified His bringing into subjection to Himself the kingdoms of the nether world.

15. Moreover, that we may touch briefly some of the more recondite topics, when God made the world in the beginning, He set over it and appointed certain powers of celestial virtues, by whom the race of mortal men might be governed and directed. That this was so done Moses signifies in the Song in Deuteronomy, "When the Most High divided the nations, He ap-

pointed the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God." But some of these, as he who is called the Prince of this world, did not exercise the power which God had committed to them according to the laws by which they had received it, nor did they teach mankind to obey God's commandments, but taught them rather to follow their own perverse guidance. Thus we were brought under the bond of sins, because, as the Prophet saith, "We were sold under our sins." For every man gets the price of his soul when he yields to lust. Under that bond then every man was held by those most wicked rulers, which same bond Christ, when He came, tore down and stripped them of this their power. This Paul signifies under a great mystery, when he says of Him, "He destroyed the hand-writing which was against us, nailing it to His cross, and led away principalities and powers, triumphing over them in Himself." Those rulers, then, whom God had set over mankind, having become contumacious and tyrannical, took in hand to assail the men who had been committed to their charge and to rout them utterly in the conflicts of sin, as the Prophet Ezekiel mystically intimates when he says, "In that day angels shall come forth hastening to exterminate Ethiopia, and there shall be perturbation among them in the day of Egypt; for behold He comes." Being stript then of their Almighty power, Christ is said to have triumphed, and to have delivered to men the power which was taken from them, as also Himself saith to His disciples in the Gospel, "Behold I have given you power to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and upon all the might of the enemy."

The Cross of Christ, then, brought those who had wrongfully abused the authority which they had received into subjection to those who had before been in subjection to them. But us, that is, mankind, it teaches first of all to resist sin even unto death, and willingly to die for the sake of religion. Next, this same Cross sets before us an example of obedience, in like manner as it hath punished the contumacy of those who were once our rulers. Hear, therefore, how the Apostle would teach us obedience by the Cross of Christ: "Let this mind be in you, which was in Christ Jesus, Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation, taking upon Him the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man. He became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross." As, then, a consummate master teaches both by example and precept, so Christ taught the obedience, which good men are to render even at the cost of death, by Himself first dying in rendering it.

16. But perhaps some one is alarmed at hearing us discourse of the death of Him of Whom, a short while since, we said that He is everlasting with God the Father, and that He was begotten of the Father's substance, and is one with God the Father, in dominion, majesty, and eternity. But be not alarmed, O faithful hearer. Presently thou wilt see Him of Whose death thou hearest once more immortal; for the death to which He submits is about to spoil death. For the object of that mystery of the Incarnation which we expounded just now was that the divine virtue of the

Son of God, as though it were a hook concealed beneath the form and fashion of human flesh (He being, as the Apostle Paul says, "found in fashion as a man"), might lure on the Prince of this world to a conflict, to whom offering His flesh as a bait, His divinity underneath might secure Him caught with a hook by the shedding of His immaculate blood. For He alone Who knows no stain of sin hath destroyed the sins of all, of those, at least, who have marked the door-posts of their faith with His blood. As, therefore, if a fish seizes a baited hook, it not only does not take the bait off the hook, but is drawn out of the water to be itself food for others, so He Who had the power of death seized the body of Jesus in death, not being aware of the hook of Divinity inclosed within it, but having swallowed it he was caught forthwith, and the bars of hell being burst asunder, he was drawn forth as it were from the abyss to become food for others. Which result the Prophet Ezekiel long ago foretold under this same figure, saying, "I will draw thee out with My hook, and stretch thee out upon the earth: the plains shall be filled with thee, and I will set all the fowls of the air over thee, and I will satiate all the beasts of the earth with thee." The Prophet David also says, "Thou hast broken the heads of the great dragon, Thou hast given him to be meat to the people of Ethiopia." And Job in like manner witnesses of the same mystery, for he says in the person of the Lord speaking to him, "Wilt thou draw forth the dragon with a hook, and wilt thou put thy bit in his nostrils?"

17. It is with no loss or disparagement therefore

of His Divine nature that Christ suffers in the flesh, but His Divine nature through the flesh descended into death, that by the infirmity of the flesh He might effect salvation; not that He might be detained by death according to the law of mortality, but that, being to rise again, He might by Himself open the gates of death. As if a king were to go to a prison, and entering in should open the doors, undo the fetters, break in pieces the chains, the locks and bolts, and bring forth and set at liberty the prisoners, and restore those who are sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death to light and life. The king, therefore, is said indeed to have been in prison, but not under the same condition as the prisoners who were detained there. They were in prison to be punished, He to free from punishment.

18. They who have handed down the Creed to us have with much forethought specified the time when these things were done—"under Pontius Pilate,"—lest in any respect the tradition should falter, as though vague and uncertain. But it should be known that the clause, "He descended into Hell," is not added in the Creed of the Roman Church, neither is it in that of the Oriental Churches. It seems to be implied, however, when it is said that "He was buried." But in the love and zeal for the Divine Scriptures which possess thee, thou sayest to me, I doubt not, "These things ought to be proved by more evident testimonies from the Divine Scriptures. For the more important the things are which are to be believed, so much the more do they need apt and undoubted witness." True. But we, as speaking to those who know the

law, have left unnoticed, for the sake of brevity, a whole forest of testimonies. But if this also be required, let us cite a few out of many, knowing, as we do, that to those who are acquainted with the Scriptures, a very ample sea of testimonies lies open.

19. First of all, then, we must know that the doctrine of the Cross is not regarded by all in the same light. It is one thing to the Gentiles, to the Jews another, to Christians another; as also the Apostle says, "We preach Christ crucified,—to the Jews a stumbling-block, to the Gentiles foolishness, but to those who are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God;" and, in the same place, "For the preaching of the Cross is to those who perish foolishness, but to those who are saved," that is, to us, it is "the Power of God." The Jews, to whom it had been delivered out of the Law, that Christ should abide for ever, were offended by His Cross, because they were unwilling to believe His resurrection. To the Gentiles it seemed foolishness that God should have submitted to death, because they were ignorant of the mystery of the Incarnation. But Christians, who had accepted His birth and passion in the flesh and His resurrection from the dead, of course believed that it was the power of God which had overcome death.

First, therefore, hear how this very thing is prophetically declared by Isaiah, that the Jews, to whom the Prophets had foretold these things, would not believe, but that they who had never heard them from the Prophets, would believe them. "To whom He was not spoken of they shall see, and they that have not heard shall understand." Moreover, that while those

who were engaged in the study of the Law from childhood to old age believed not, to the Gentiles every mystery should be transferred, this same Isaiah foretells in these words, "And the Lord of Hosts shall make a feast on this mountain unto all nations: they shall drink joy, they shall drink wine, they shall be anointed with ointment on this mountain. Deliver all these things to the nations." This was the counsel of the Almighty respecting all the nations. But they who boast themselves of their knowledge of the Law will, perhaps, say to us, "You blaspheme in saying that the Lord was subjected to the corruption of death and to the suffering of the Cross." Read, therefore, what you find written in the Lamentations of Jeremiah: "The Spirit of our countenance, Christ the Lord, was taken in our corruptions, of whom we said, we shall live under His shadow among the nations[k]." Thou hearest how the Prophet saith that Christ the Lord was taken, and for us, that is, for our sins, delivered to corruption. Under whose shadow, since the people of the Jews have continued in unbelief, he says the Gentiles lie, because we live not in Israel, but among the Gentiles.

20. But if it does not weary you, let me point out as briefly as possible, specific references to prophecy in the Gospels, that those who are being instructed in the first elements of the faith may have these testimonies written on their hearts, lest any doubt concerning the things which they believe should at any time take them by surprise. We are told in

[k] Lamentations iv. 20.

the Gospel that Judas, one of Christ's friends and associates at table, betrayed Him. Hear how this is foretold in the Psalms: "He who hath eaten My bread hath lifted up his heel against Me:" and in another place; "My friends and My neighbours drew near and set themselves against Me:" and again; "His words were made softer than oil and yet be they very darts." Wouldst thou hear how his words were made soft? "Judas came to Jesus and said unto Him, Hail, Master, and kissed Him." Thus through the soft blandishment of a kiss he implanted the execrable dart of betrayal. On which the Lord said to him, "Judas, betrayest thou the Son of Man with a kiss?" Thou hearest that He was apprised by the traitor's covetousness at thirty pieces of silver. Hear the Prophet concerning this also, "And I said unto them, If ye think good, give me my price, or if not, forbear;" and presently, "I received from them," he says, "thirty pieces of silver, and I cast them into the house of the Lord, into the foundry." Is not this what is written in the Gospels, that Judas, "repenting of what he had done, brought back the money, and threw it down in the temple and departed?" Well did He call it His price, as though blaming and upbraiding. For He had done so many good works among them, He had given sight to the blind, feet to the lame, the power of walking to the palsied, life also to the dead; for all these good works they paid Him death as His price, apprised at thirty pieces of silver. It is related also in the Gospels that He was bound. This also the word of prophecy had foretold by Isaiah, saying, "Woe unto their soul, who have

devised a most evil device against themselves, saying, Let us bind the just One, seeing that He is unprofitable to us."

21. But, says some one, "Are these things to be understood of the Lord? Could the Lord be held prisoner by men and dragged to judgment?" Of this also the same Prophet shall convince thee. For he says, "The Lord Himself shall come into judgment with the elders and princes of the people." The Lord is judged then according to the Prophet's testimony, and not only judged, but scourged, and smitten on the face with the palms (of men's hands), and spitted on, and suffers every insult and indignity for our sake. And because all who should hear these things preached by the Apostles would be perfectly amazed, therefore also the Prophet speaking in their person exclaims, "Lord, who hath believed our report?" For it is incredible that God, the Son of God, should be spoken of and preached as having suffered these things. For this reason they are foretold by the Prophets, lest any doubt should spring up in those who are about to believe. Christ the Lord Himself therefore in His own person, says, "I gave My back to the scourges, and My cheeks to the palms of men's hands, I turned not away My face from shame and spitting." This also is written among His other sufferings, that they bound Him, and led Him away to Pilate. This also the Prophet foretold, saying, "And they bound Him and conducted Him as a pledge of friendship (*xenium*) to King Jarim[1]." But some one objects, "But Pilate

[1] Hos. x. 6.

was not a king." Hear then what the Gospel relates next, "Pilate, hearing that He was from Galilee, sent Him to Herod, who was king in Israel at that time." And rightly does the Prophet add the name "Jarim," which means "a wild-vine," for Herod was not of the house of Israel, nor of that Israelitish vine which the Lord had brought out of Egypt, and "planted in a very fruitful hill," but was a wild-vine, i.e. of an alien stock. Rightly, therefore, was he called "a wild-vine," because he was in nowise sprung from the shoots of the vine of Israel. And whereas the Prophet uses the phrase "*xenium*," "a pledge of friendship," this also corresponds, "For Herod and Pilate," as the Gospel witnesses, "of enemies were made friends," and, as though in token of their reconciliation, each to each sent Jesus bound. What matter, so long as Jesus, as Saviour, reconciles those who were at variance, and restores peace, and also brings back concord! Wherefore of this also it is written in Job, "May the Lord reconcile the hearts of the princes of the earth."

22. It is related that when Pilate would fain have released Him all the people cried out, "Crucify Him, Crucify Him!" This also the Prophet Jeremiah foretells, saying, in the person of the Lord Himself, "My inheritance is become to Me as a lion in the forest. He hath uttered his voice against Me, wherefore I have hated it. And therefore (saith He) I have forsaken and left My house." And again in another place, "Against whom have ye opened your mouth, and against whom have ye let loose your tongues?" When He stood before His judge, it is written that "He held His peace." Many Scriptures testify of this. In

the Psalms it is written, "I became as a man that heareth not, and in whose mouth are no reproofs." And again, "I was as a deaf man, and heard not, and as one that is dumb and openeth not his mouth." And again another Prophet saith, "As a lamb before her shearer, so He opened not His mouth. In His humiliation His judgment was taken away." It is written that there was put on Him a crown of thorns. Of this hear in the Canticles the voice of God the Father marvelling at the iniquity of Jerusalem in the insult done to His Son: "Go forth and see, ye daughters of Jerusalem, the crown wherewith His mother hath crowned Him." Moreover, of the thorns another Prophet makes mention: "I looked that she should bring forth grapes, and she brought forth thorns, and instead of righteousness a cry." But that thou mayest know the secrets of the mystery, it behoved Him, Who came to take away the sins of the world, to free the earth also from the curse, which, through the sin of the first man, it had received, the Lord saying, "Cursed be the earth in thy labours: thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee." For this cause, therefore, is Jesus crowned with thorns, that that first sentence of condemnation might be remitted. He is led to the cross, and the life of the whole world is suspended on the wood of which it is made. Wouldst thou have this also confirmed by testimony from the Prophets? Listen to Jeremiah as he speaks of it, "Come and let us cast wood into His bread, and crush Him out of the land of the living." And again, Moses, mourning over them, says, "Thy life shall be suspended before thine eyes, and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt

not believe thy life." But we must pass on, for already we are exceeding our proposed measure of brevity, and are lengthening out our "short word" by a long dissertation. Yet we will add a few words more, lest we should seem altogether to have passed over what we undertook.

23. It is written that when the side of Jesus was pierced "He shed thereout blood and water." This has a mystical meaning. For Himself had said, "Out of His belly shall flow rivers of living water." But He shed forth blood also, of which the Jews sought that it might be upon themselves and upon their children. He shed forth water, therefore, which might wash believers; He shed forth blood also which might condemn unbelievers. Yet it might be understood also as prefiguring the twofold grace of baptism, one that which is given by the baptism of water, the other that which is sought through martyrdom in the outpouring of blood, for both are called baptism. But if you ask further why our Lord is said to have poured forth blood and water from His side rather than from any other member, I imagine that by the rib in the side the woman is signified. Since the fountain of sin and death proceeded from the first woman, who was the rib of the first Adam, the fountain of redemption and life is drawn from the rib of the second Adam.

24. It is written that in our Lord's passion there was darkness over the earth from the sixth hour until the ninth. Hear the Prophet's witness to this also, "Thy Sun shall go down at mid-day." And again, the Prophet Zechariah, "In that day there shall be no more light. There shall be cold and frost in one day, and that

day known to the Lord; and it shall be neither day nor night, but at evening time there shall be light." What plainer language could the Prophet have used for his words to seem not so much a prophecy of the future as a narrative of the past? He foretold both the cold and the frost. For Peter was warming himself at the fire because it was cold: and he was suffering cold not only in respect of the time (the early hour), but also of his faith. There is added, "and that day shall be known to the Lord; and it shall be neither day nor night." What is "neither day nor night?" Did he not plainly speak of the darkness interposed in the day, and then the light afterwards restored? That was not day, for it did not begin with sun-rise, neither was it complete night, for it did not, when the day was ended, receive its due space from the beginning or prolong it to the end; but the light which had been driven away by the crime of wicked men is restored at evening time. For after the ninth hour, the darkness is driven away, and the sun is restored to the world. Again, another Prophet witnesses of the same, "The light shall be darkened upon the earth in the day-time."

25. The Gospel further relates that the soldiers parted the garments of Jesus among themselves, and cast lots upon His vesture. The Holy Spirit provided that this also should be witnessed beforehand by the Prophets, for David says, "They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture they did cast lots." Nor were the Prophets silent even as to the robe, the scarlet robe, which the soldiers are said to have put upon Him in mockery. Listen to Isaiah, "Who is

this that cometh from Edom, red in his garments from Bozrah? Wherefore are thy garments red, and thy raiment as though thou hadst trodden in the wine-press?" To which Himself replies, "I have trodden the wine-press alone, O daughter of Sion." For He alone it is Who hath not sinned, and hath taken away the sins of the world. For if by one man death could enter into the world, how much more by one man, Who was God also, could life be restored!

26. It is related also that vinegar was given Him to drink, or wine mingled with myrrh which is bitterer than gall. Hear what the Prophet hath foretold of this: "They gave Me gall to eat, and when I was thirsty they gave Me vinegar to drink." Agreeably with which Moses, even in his day, said to the people, "Their vine is of the vineyards of Sodom, and their branch of Gomorrah; their grape is a grape of gall, and their cluster a cluster of bitterness." And again, the Prophet upbraiding them says, "Oh foolish people and unwise, have ye thus requited the Lord?" Moreover, in the Canticles the same things are foretold, where even the garden in which the Lord was crucified is indicated: "I have come into my garden, my sister, my spouse, and have gathered in my myrrh." Where the Prophet hath plainly set forth the wine mingled with myrrh which the Lord had given Him to drink.

27. Next it is written that "He gave up the ghost." This also had been foretold by the Prophet, who says, addressing the Father in the Person of the Son, "Into Thy hands I commend My Spirit." He is related also to have been buried, and a great stone laid at the door

of the sepulchre. Hear what the word of prophecy foretold by Jeremiah concerning this also, "They have cut off My life in the pit, and have laid a stone upon Me." These words of the Prophet point most plainly to His burial. Here are yet others, "The righteous hath been taken away from beholding iniquity, and his place is in peace." And in another place, "I will give the malignant for his burial;" and yet once more, "He hath lain down and slept as a lion, and as a lion's whelp; who shall rouse Him up?"

28. That He descended into hell is also evidently foretold in the Psalms, where it is said, "Thou hast brought Me also into the dust of death." And again, "What profit is there in my blood, when I shall have descended into corruption?" And again, "I descended into the deep mire, where there is no bottom." Moreover, John saith, "Art Thou He that shall come (into hell, without doubt), or do we look for another?" Whence also Peter saith, that "Christ being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the Spirit which dwells in Him, descended to the spirits who were shut up in prison, who in the days of Noah believed not, to preach unto them;" where also what He did in hell is declared. Moreover, the Lord saith by the Prophet, as though speaking of the future, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt Thou suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption." Which again, in prophetic language he speaks of as actually fulfilled, "O Lord, Thou hast brought my soul out of hell: Thou hast saved me from them that go down into the pit." There follows next,—

29. THE THIRD DAY HE ROSE AGAIN FROM THE DEAD. The glory of Christ's resurrection threw a lustre upon everything which before had the appearance of weakness and frailty. If a while since thou thoughtest it impossible that an immortal Being could die, behold now He who hath overcome death and risen again cannot be mortal. But understand herein the goodness of the Creator, that so far as thou by sinning hast cast thyself down, so far has He descended in following thee. And do not impute lack of power to God, the Creator of all things, by imagining the work of salvation which He undertook to have failed at that point, which, when He was about to bring it to effect, He could not reach. We speak of infernal and supernal, who are bounded by the definite circumference of the body, and are confined within the limits of the region prescribed to us. But to God, Who is present everywhere and absent nowhere, what is infernal and what supernal? Notwithstanding, through the assumption of a body there is room for these also. The flesh, which had been deposited in the sepulchre, is raised, that that might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophet, "Thou wilt not suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption." He returned, therefore, a victor from the dead, leading with Him the spoils of hell. For He led forth those who were held in captivity by death, as He Himself had foretold, when He said, "When I shall be lifted up from the earth I shall draw all unto Me." To this the Gospel bears witness, when it says, "The graves were opened, and many bodies of saints which slept arose, and appeared unto many, and entered into the holy City," that city,

doubtless, of which the Apostle says, "Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the Mother of us all." As also he says again to the Hebrews, "It became Him, for Whom are all things, and by Whom are all things, Who had brought many sons unto glory, to make the Author of their salvation perfect through suffering." Sitting, therefore, on the right hand of God in the highest heavens, He placed there that human flesh, made perfect through sufferings, which had fallen to death by the lapse of the first man, but was now restored by the virtue of the resurrection. Whence also the Apostle says, "Who hath raised us up together and made us sit together in the heavenly places." For He was the potter, Who, as the Prophet Jeremiah teaches, "took up again with His hands and formed anew, as it seemed good to Him, the vessel which had fallen from His hands and was broken in pieces." And it seemed good to Him that the mortal and corruptible body which He had assumed, this body raised from the rocky sepulchre and rendered immortal and incorruptible, He should now place not on earth but in heaven, and at His Father's right hand. The Scriptures of the Old Testament are full of these mysteries. No Prophet, no Lawgiver, no Psalmist is silent, but almost every one of the sacred pages speaks of them. It seems superfluous, therefore, to linger in collecting testimonies; yet we will cite some few, remitting those who desire to drink more largely to the well-springs of the divine volumes themselves.

30. It is said then in the Psalms, "I laid me down and slept, and rose up again, because the Lord sustained me." Again, in another place, "Because of the

wretchedness of the needy and the groaning of the poor, now will I arise, saith the Lord." And elsewhere, as we have said above, "O Lord, Thou hast brought my soul out of hell; Thou hast saved me from them that go down into the pit." And in another place, "Because Thou hast turned and quickened me, and brought me out of the deep of the earth again." In the 87th Psalm He is most evidently spoken of: "He became as a man without help, free among the dead." It is not said "a man," but "as a man." For in that He descended into hell, He was "as a man:" but He was "free among the dead," because He could not be detained by death. And therefore in the one nature the power of human weakness, in the other the power of divine majesty is exhibited. The Prophet Hosea also speaks most manifestly of the third day in this wise, "After two days He will heal us; but on the third day we shall rise and shall live in His presence." This he says in the person of those who, rising with Him on the third day, are recalled from death to life. And they are the same persons who say, "On the third day we shall rise again, and shall live in His presence." But Isaiah says plainly, "Who brought forth from the earth the great Shepherd of the sheep." Then, that the women were to see His resurrection, while the Scribes and Pharisees and the people disbelieved, this also Isaiah foretold in these words, "Ye women, who come from beholding, come: for it is a people that hath no understanding." But of the women who are related to have gone to the sepulchre after the resurrection, and to have sought Him, without finding, as Mary Magdalene, who is related to have come to the

sepulchre before it was light, and not finding Him, to have said, weeping, to the angels who were there, "They have taken away the Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him"—even this is foretold in the Canticles: "On my bed I sought Him Whom my soul loveth; I sought Him in the night, and found Him not." Of those also who found Him, and held Him by the feet, it is foretold, in the same book, "I will hold Him Whom my soul loveth, and will not let Him go." Take these passages, a few of many; for being intent on brevity we cannot heap together more.

31. He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father: From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. These clauses follow with suitable brevity at the end of this part of the Creed which treats of the Son. What is said is plain, but the question is how and in what sense it is to be understood. For to "ascend," and to "sit," and to "come," unless you understand the words in accordance with the dignity of the divine nature, appear to point to something of human weakness. For having consummated what was to be done on earth, and having recalled souls from the captivity of hell, He is spoken of as ascending up to heaven, as the Prophet had foretold, "Ascending up on high He led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men," those gifts, namely, which Peter, in the Acts of the Apostles, spoke of concerning the Holy Ghost, "Being therefore by the right hand of God exalted, He hath shed forth this gift which ye do see and hear." He gave the gift of the Holy Ghost to men, because the captives,

whom the devil had before carried into hell through sin, Christ by His resurrection from death recalled to heaven. He ascended therefore into heaven, not where God the Word had not been before, for He was always in heaven, and abode in the Father, but where the Word made flesh had not been seated before. Lastly, since this entrance within the gates of heaven seemed new to its ministers and princes, they say to one another, on seeing the nature of flesh penetrating into the secret recesses of heaven, as David, full of the Holy Ghost, declares, "Lift up your gates, ye princes, and be ye lift up ye everlasting gates, and the King of glory shall enter in. Who is the King of glory? The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle." Which words are spoken not with reference to the power of the divine nature, but with reference to the novelty of flesh ascending to the right hand of God. The same David says elsewhere, "God hath ascended jubilantly, and the Lord with the sound of the trumpet." For conquerors are wont to return from battle with the sound of the trumpet. Of Him also it is said, "Who buildeth up His ascent in heaven." And again, "Who hath ascended above the cherubims, flying upon the wings of the winds."

32. To sit at the right hand of the Father is a mystery belonging to the Incarnation. For it does not befit that incorporeal nature without the assumption of flesh; neither is the excellency of a heavenly seat sought for the divine nature, but for the human. Whence it is said of Him, "Thy seat, O God, is prepared from thenceforward; Thou art from everlasting." The seat, then, whereon the Lord Jesus was to sit, was prepared

from everlasting, "in whose name every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth, and things under the earth; and every tongue should confess to Him that Jesus is Lord, in the glory of God the Father." Of Whom also David thus speaks, "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou on my right hand until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool." Referring to which words the Lord in the Gospel said to the Pharisees, "If therefore David in spirit calleth Him Lord, how is He his Son?" By which He shewed that according to the Spirit He was the Lord, according to the flesh He was the Son, of David. Whence also the Lord Himself says in another place, "Verily I say unto you, henceforth ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of the power of God." And the Apostle Peter says of Christ, "Who is on the right hand of God, seated in the heavens." And Paul also, writing to the Ephesians, "According to the working of the might of His power, which He wrought in Christ, when He raised Him from the dead, and seated Him on His right hand."

33. That He shall come to judge the quick and the dead we are taught by many testimonies of the divine Scriptures. But before we cite what the Prophets say on this point, we think it necessary to remind you that this doctrine of the faith would have us daily solicitous concerning the coming of the Judge, that we may so frame our conduct as having to give account to the Judge who is at hand. For this is what the Prophet said of the man who is blessed, that "He ordereth his words in judgment." When, however, He is said to judge the quick and the dead, this does not

mean that some will come to judgment who are still living, others who are already dead; but that He will judge both souls and bodies, where, by souls are meant "the quick," and by bodies "the dead;" as also the Lord Himself saith in the Gospel, "Fear not them who are able to kill the body, but are not able to hurt the soul; but rather fear Him who is able to destroy both soul and body in Gehennah."

34. Now let us shew briefly, if you will, that these things were foretold by the Prophets. You will yourself, since you are so minded, gather together more from the ample range of the Scriptures. The Prophet Malachi says, "Behold the Lord Almighty shall come, and who shall abide the day of His coming, or who shall abide the sight of Him? For He doth come as the fire of a furnace and as fuller's soap: and He shall sit, refining and purifying as it were gold and silver." But that thou mayest know more certainly Who this Lord is of Whom these things are said, hear what the Prophet Daniel also foretells: "I saw," saith he, "in the vision of the night, and, behold, One like the Son of Man coming with the clouds of heaven, and He came nigh to the Ancient of days, and was brought near before Him; and there was given to Him dominion, and honour, and a kingdom. And all peoples, tribes, and languages shall serve Him. And His dominion is an eternal dominion which shall not pass away, and His kingdom shall not be destroyed." By these words we are taught not only of His coming and judgment, but of His dominion and kingdom, that His dominion is eternal, and His kingdom indestructible, without end; as it is said in

the Creed[m], "and of His kingdom there shall be no end." So that one who says that Christ's kingdom shall one day have an end is very far from the faith. Yet it behoves us to know that the enemy is wont to counterfeit this salutary advent of Christ with cunning fraud in order to deceive the faithful, and in the place of the Son of Man, Who is looked for as coming in the majesty of His Father, to prepare the Son of Perdition with prodigies and lying signs, that instead of Christ he may introduce Antichrist into the world; of whom the Lord Himself warned the Jews beforehand in the Gospels, "Because I am come in My Father's Name, and ye received Me not, another will come in his own name, and him ye will receive." And again, "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, standing in the holy place, let him that readeth understand." Daniel, therefore, in his visions speaks very fully and amply of the coming of that delusion: but it is not worth while to cite instances, for we have enlarged enough already; we therefore refer any one who may wish to know more concerning these matters to the visions themselves. The Apostle also himself says, "Let no man deceive you by any means, for that day shall not come except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the Son of Perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above everything that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he sitteth in the

[m] "The Creed" is either the Constantinopolitan, or, more probably, that of Jerusalem, with which Rufinus, through Cyril, must have been familiar. There is no reason to suppose that the clause was in the Creed of Aquileia.

temple of God, shewing himself as though himself were God." And soon afterwards, "Then shall that wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of His mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming: whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders." And again, shortly afterwards, "And therefore the Lord shall send unto them strong delusion, that they may believe a lie, that all may be judged who have not believed the truth." For this reason, therefore, is this "delusion" foretold unto us by the words of Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles, lest any one should mistake the coming of Antichrist for the coming of Christ. But as the Lord Himself says, "When they shall say unto you, lo, here is Christ, or lo, He is there, believe it not. For many false Christs and false prophets shall come and shall seduce many." But let us see how He hath pointed out the judgment of the true Christ: "As the lightning shineth from the east unto the west, so shall the coming of the Son of Man be." When, therefore, the true Lord Jesus Christ shall come, He will sit and set on foot the judgment. As also He saith in the Gospel, "He shall separate the sheep from the goats," that is, the righteous from the unrighteous; as the Apostle writes, "We must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every man may receive the awards due to the body, according as he hath done, whether they be good or evil." Moreover, the judgment will be not only for deeds, but for thoughts also, as the same Apostle saith, "Their thoughts mutually accusing or else excusing one another, in the

day when God shall judge the secrets of men." But let this suffice. Next follows in the order of faith,—

35. And in the Holy Ghost. What has been delivered above somewhat more at large concerning Christ relates to the mystery of His Incarnation and of His Passion, and, by thus intervening, as belonging to His Person, has somewhat delayed the mention of the Holy Spirit. Otherwise, if the divine nature alone be taken into account, as in the beginning of the Creed we say "I believe in God the Father Almighty," and afterwards, "In Jesus Christ His only Son, our Lord," so in like manner we add, "And in the Holy Ghost." But all of those particulars which are spoken of above concerning Christ relate, as we have said, to the dispensation of the flesh (to His Incarnation). By the mention of the Holy Spirit, the mystery of the Trinity is completed. For as one Father is mentioned, and there is no other Father, and one only-begotten Son is mentioned, and there is no other only-begotten Son, so also there is one Holy Ghost, and there cannot be another Holy Ghost. In order, therefore, that the Persons may be distinguished, the terms expressing relationship (the properties) are varied, whereby the first is understood to be the Father, of Whom are all things, Who Himself also hath no Father, the second the Son, as born of the Father, and the third the Holy Ghost, as proceeding from both [n], and sanctifying all things. But that in the Trinity one and the same Godhead may be set forth, since, prefixing the preposition "in" we say that we believe "*in* God the

[n] Or, according to another reading, "from the mouth of God."

Father," so also we say, "*in* Christ His Son," so also "*in* the Holy Ghost." But our meaning will be made more plain in what follows. For the Creed proceeds,—

36. "THE HOLY CHURCH; THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS, THE RESURRECTION OF THIS FLESH." It is not said, "*In* the holy Church," nor "*In* the forgiveness of sins," nor "*In* the resurrection of the flesh." For if the preposition "in" had been added, it would have had the same force as in the preceding articles. But now in those clauses in which the faith concerning the Godhead is declared, we say "*In* God the Father," and "*In* Jesus Christ, His Son," and "*In* the Holy Ghost," but in the rest, where we speak not of the Godhead but of creatures and mysteries, the preposition "in" is not added. We do not say "We believe *in* the holy Church," but "We believe the holy Church," not as God, but as the Church gathered together to God: and we believe that there is "forgiveness of sins;" we do not say "We believe *in* the forgiveness of sins;" and we believe that there will be a "Resurrection of the flesh;" we do not say "We believe *in* the resurrection of the flesh." By this monosyllabic preposition, therefore, the Creator is distinguished from the creatures, and things divine are separated from things human.

This then is the Holy Ghost, who in the Old Testament inspired the Law and the Prophets, in the New the Gospels and the Epistles. Whence also the Apostle says, "All Scripture given by inspiration of God is profitable for instruction." And therefore it seems proper in this place to enumerate, as we have learnt from the tradition of the Fathers, the books of the New

and of the Old Testament, which, according to the tradition of our forefathers, are believed to have been inspired by the Holy Ghost, and have been handed down to the Churches of Christ.

37. Of the Old Testament, therefore, first of all there have been handed down five books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; then Joshua, the son of Nun, the Book of Judges together with Ruth; then four books of Kings (Reigns), which the Hebrews reckon two; the Book of Omissions, which is entitled the Book of Days (Chronicles), and two books of Ezra (Ezra and Nehemiah), which the Hebrews reckon one, and Esther; of the Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; moreover of the twelve (minor) Prophets, one book; Job also and the Psalms of David, each one book. Solomon gave three books to the Churches, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles. These comprise the books of the Old Testament.

Of the New there are four Gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John; the Acts of the Apostles, written by Luke; fourteen Epistles of the Apostle Paul, two of the Apostle Peter, one of James, brother of the Lord and Apostle, one of Jude, three of John, the Revelation of John. These are the books which the Fathers have comprised within the Canon, and from which they would have us deduce the proofs of our faith [o].

38. But it should be known that there are also other books which our fathers call not "Canonical" but "Ecclesiastical:" that is to say, Wisdom, called the Wisdom of Solomon, and another Wisdom, called the Wisdom of the Son of Syrach, which last-mentioned the Latins

[o] Compare St. Cyril's Catalogue, above, pp. 75, 76.

call by the general title Ecclesiasticus, deisgnating not the author of the book, but the character of the writing. To the same class belong the Book of Tobit, and the Book of Judith, and the Books of the Maccabees. In the New Testament the little book which is called the Book of the Pastor or Hermes, [and that] which is called The Two Ways, or the Judgment of Peter; all of which they would have read in the Churches, but not appealed to for the confirmation of doctrine. The other writings they have named "Apocrypha." These they would not have read in the Churches.

These are the traditions which the Fathers have handed down to us, which, as I said, I have thought it opportune to set forth in this place, for the instruction of those who are being taught the first elements of the Church and of the Faith, that they may know from what fountains of the Word of God their draughts must be taken.

39. We come next in the order of belief to the Holy Church. We have mentioned above why the Creed does not say here, as in the preceding article, "*In* the Holy Church." They, therefore, who were taught above to believe in one God, under the mystery of the Trinity, must believe this also, that there is one holy Church in which there is one faith and one baptism, in which is believed one God the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, and one Holy Ghost. This is that holy Church which is without spot or wrinkle. For many others have gathered together Churches, as Marcion, and Valentinus, and Ebion, and Manichæus, and Arius, and all the other heretics. But those Churches are not without spot or wrinkle of

perfidiousness. And therefore the Prophet said of them, "I hate the Church of the malignants, and I will not sit with the ungodly." But of this Church which keeps the faith of Christ entire, hear what the Holy Spirit saith in the Canticles, "My dove is one; the perfect one of her mother is one." He then who receives this faith in the Church let him not turn aside in the Council of vanity, and let him not enter in with those who practise iniquity.

For that is the Council of vanity which Marcion holds, who denies that the Father of Christ is God, the Creator, who by His Son made the world. That is the Council of vanity which Ebion teaches, that while we believe in Christ we are withal to observe the circumcision of the flesh, the keeping of the Sabbath, the accustomed sacrifices, and all the other ordinances according to the letter of the Law. That is the Council of vanity which Manichæus teaches, first in that he calls himself the Paraclete, then that he says that the world was made by an evil God, denies God the Creator, rejects the Old Testament, asserts two natures, one good the other evil, mutually opposing one another, affirms that men's souls are co-eternal with God, that, according to the Pythagoreans, they return through divers circles of nativity into cattle and animals and beasts, denies the resurrection of our flesh, maintains that the passion and nativity of the Lord were not in the verity of flesh, but only in appearance. That is the Council of vanity which Paul of Samosata and his successor Photinus afterwards taught, that Christ was not born of the Father before the world, but had His beginning from Mary, and believed not that being God

He was born man, but that of man He was made God. That is the Council of vanity which Arius and Eunomius taught, who would have it that the Son of God was not born of the very substance of the Father, but was created out of nothing, and that the Son of God had a beginning, and is inferior to the Father; moreover they affirm that the Holy Ghost is not only inferior to the Son, but is also a ministering Spirit[p]. Theirs also is the Council of vanity who confess indeed that the Son is of the substance of the Father, but distinguish and separate the Holy Spirit, while yet the Saviour shews in the Gospel that the power and Godhead of the Trinity are one and the same, saying, "Baptize all nations in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," and it is plainly impious for man to put asunder what God hath joined together. That also is the Council of vanity which a pertinacious and wicked contention formerly gathered together, affirming that Christ assumed human flesh indeed, but not a rational soul withal, since Christ conferred one and the same salvation on the flesh, and the animal soul, and the reason and mind of man. That also is the Council of vanity which Donatus drew together throughout Africa, by charging the Church with traditorship (delivering up the sacred books), and with which Novatus disturbed men's minds by denying the grant

[p] Mittendarium, "Mittendarii, Palatini qui in sacro Palatio militabant, et in provincias extraordinarie mittebantur, a Principe, ut eorum mandata perferrent." Officers attached to the Palace, who were sent into the provinces by the Emperor on extraordinary occasions, as bearers of his orders.—*Glossarium Manuale ex Magnis Glossariis Du Fresne, &c.*

of repentance to the lapsed, and condemning second marriages, though contracted possibly of necessity. All of these then avoid as congregations of malignants. Those also, if such there be, who are said to assert that the Son of God does not see or know the Father, as Himself is known and seen by the Father; or that the kingdom of Christ will have an end; or that the flesh will not be raised in the complete restoration of its substance; those also who deny that there will be a just judgment of God in respect of all, and affirm that the devil will be absolved from the punishment of damnation due to him. To all of these, I say, let the believer turn a deaf ear. But hold fast by the holy Church, which confesses God the Father Almighty, and His only Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, and the Holy Ghost, of one concordant and harmonious substance, and believes that the Son of God was born of the Virgin, suffered for man's salvation, rose again from the dead in the same flesh in which He was born; hopes, lastly, that He will come the Judge of all, through whom also both the FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND THE RESURRECTION OF THE FLESH are preached.

40. As to the FORGIVENESS OF SINS, it ought to be enough simply to believe. For who would ask the cause or the reason when a Prince grants indulgence? When the liberality of an earthly sovereign is no fit subject for discussion, shall man's temerity discuss God's largess? For the Pagans are wont to ridicule us, saying that we deceive ourselves, fancying that crimes committed in deed can be purged by words. And they say, "Can he who has committed murder be no murderer, and he who has committed adultery be accounted

no adulterer? How then shall one guilty of crimes of this sort all of a sudden be made holy?" But to this, as I said, we answer better by faith than by reason. For He is King of all who hath promised it: He is Lord of heaven and earth who assures us of it. Wouldst thou have me refuse to believe that He who made me a man of the dust of the earth can of a guilty person make me innocent? And that He who when I was blind made me see, or when I was deaf made me hear, or lame walk, can recover for me my lost innocence? And to come to the witness of Nature—to kill a man is not always criminal, but to kill of malice, not by law, is criminal. It is not the deed then, in such matters, that condemns me, because sometimes it is rightly done, but the evil intention of the mind. If then my mind which had been rendered criminal, and in which the sin originated is corrected, why should I seem to thee incapable of being made innocent, who before was criminal? For if it is plain, as I have shewn, that crime consists not in the deed but in the will, as an evil will, prompted by an evil demon, hath made me obnoxious to sin and death, so the will prompted by the good God, being changed to good, hath restored me to innocence and life. It is the same also in all other crimes. In this way there is found to be no opposition between our faith and natural reason, while forgiveness of sins is imputed not to deeds, which done cannot be changed, but to the mind, which it is certain can be converted from bad to good.

41. This last article, which affirms the Resurrection of the Flesh, concludes the sum of all perfection with succinct brevity. Although on this point also the faith

of the Church is impugned, not only by Gentiles, but by heretics likewise. For Valentinus altogether denies the resurrection of the flesh, so do the Manicheans, as we shewed above. But they refuse to listen to the Prophet Isaiah when he says, "The dead shall rise, and they who are in the graves shall be raised," or to most wise Daniel, when he declares, "Then they who are in the dust of the earth shall arise, these to eternal life, but those to shame and eternal confusion." Yet even in the Gospels, which they appear to receive, they ought to learn from our Lord and Saviour, Who says, when instructing the Sadducees, "That the dead rise again: have ye not read how He saith to Moses in the Bush, I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob? Now God is not the God of the dead but of the living." Where in what goes before He declares what and how great is the glory of the resurrection, saying, "But in the resurrection of the dead they will neither marry nor be given in marriage, but will be as the angels of God." But the virtue of the resurrection confers on men an angelical state, so that they who have risen from the earth shall not live again on the earth with the brute animals but with angels in heaven—yet those only whose purer life hath fitted them for this—those, namely, who even now preserving the flesh of their soul in chastity, have brought it into subjection to the Holy Spirit, and thus with every stain of sins done away and changed into spiritual glory by the virtue of sanctification, have been counted worthy to have it admitted into the society of angels.

42. But unbelievers cry, "How can the flesh, which

has been putrified and dissolved, or changed into dust, sometimes also swallowed up by the sea, and dispersed by the waves, be gathered up again, and again made one, and a man's body reformed out of it?" To whom our first answer is in Paul's words: "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die. And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not the body which shall be, but bare grain of wheat or of some other seed: but God giveth it a body as seemeth good to Him." Believest thou not that that which thou seest take place every year in the seeds which thou castest into the ground will come to pass in thy flesh which by the law of God is sown in the earth? Why, pray, hast thou so mean an opinion of God's power that thou dost not believe it possible for the scattered dust of which each man's flesh was composed to be re-collected and restored to its own original fabric? Dost thou not reckon it possible, when thou seest mortal ingenuity search for metallic veins deeply buried in the ground, and the experienced eye discover gold where the inexperienced has no thought but of earth? Why refuse we to grant these things to Him who made man, when he whom He made can do so much? And when mortal ingenuity discovers that gold has its own proper vein, and silver another, and that a far different vein of copper, and diverse and distinct veins of iron and lead lie concealed beneath what has the appearance of earth, shall divine power be thought unable to discover and distinguish the component particles belonging to each man's flesh, even though they seem to be dispersed?

43. But let us endeavour to assist those souls which

are wanting in faith by reasons drawn from nature. If one should mix different sorts of seeds together and sow them indiscriminately in the earth, will not the grain of each several kind, wherever it may have been thrown, shoot forth at the proper time in accordance with its own specific nature to reproduce the condition of its own form and its own body.

Thus then the substance of each individual flesh, though its particles have been variously and diversely scattered, has within it an immortal principle, since it is the flesh of an immortal soul, and at the time which God in His good pleasure shall appoint, there will be collected from the earth and drawn to it, its own component particles, which will be restored to that form which death had formerly dissolved. And thus it will come to pass that to each soul will be restored not a confused or foreign body but its own which it had when alive, in order that the flesh together with its own soul may for the conflicts of the present life either be crowned if undefiled, or punished if defiled. And accordingly our Church, in teaching the faith, instead of "the Resurrection of the flesh," as the Creed is delivered in other Churches, guardedly adds the pronoun "this"—"The resurrection of *this* flesh." "Of this," that is, no doubt, of the person who rehearses the Creed, making the sign of the cross upon his forehead, while he says the word, that each believer may know that his flesh, if ye have kept it clean from sin, will be a vessel of honour, useful to the Lord, prepared for every good work, but if defiled by sins, that it will be a vessel of wrath destined to destruction.

But now, concerning the glory of the resurrection and the greatness of the promise by which God has bound Himself, if any one desires to be more fully informed, he will find notices in almost all the divine volumes, out of which, simply by way of bringing them to remembrance, we will mention a few passages in the present place, and then make an end of the work which thou hast enjoined. The Apostle Paul makes use of such arguments as the following in asserting that mortal flesh will rise again. "But if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is not Christ risen. And if Christ be not risen, our preaching is vain and your faith is vain." And presently afterwards, "But now is Christ risen from the dead, the first-fruits of them that sleep. For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But every man in his own order. Christ the first-fruits, afterwards they that are Christ's at His coming, then cometh the end." And afterwards he adds, "Behold, I shew you a mystery: We shall all rise indeed, but we shall not all be changed;" or as other copies read, "We shall all sleep, indeed, but we shall not all be changed; in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall rise incorruptible, and we shall be changed." However, whichever be the true text, writing to the Thessalonians, he says, "I would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning those who are asleep, that ye sorrow not, as the others who have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, so those also who sleep through Jesus shall God bring with Him. For this we

say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive and remain at the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them that sleep. For the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, with the trump of God, and the dead who are in Christ shall rise first: then we who are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet Christ in the air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord."

44. But that you may not suppose this to be a novel doctrine peculiar to Paul, hear also what the Prophet Ezekiel foretold by the Holy Ghost. "Behold," saith he, "I will open your graves, and will bring you forth out of your graves." Job also, who abounds in mystical language, hear how plainly he predicts the resurrection of the dead. "There is hope for a tree; for if it be cut down it will sprout again, and its shoot shall never fail. But if its root have waxed old in the earth, and the stock thereof be dead in the dust, yet through the scent of water it will flourish again, and put forth shoots as a young plant. But man, if he be dead, is he departed and gone? And mortal man, if he have fallen, shall he be no more?" Dost thou not see, that in these words he is appealing to men's sense of shame, as it were, and saying, "Is mankind so foolish, that when they see the stock of a tree which has been cut down shooting forth again from the ground, and dead wood again restored to life, they imagine their own case to have no likeness to that of wood or trees?" But to convince you that Job's words are to be read as a question, when he says, "But mortal man when he hath fallen shall he not rise again?" take this proof

from what follows; for he adds immediately, "But if a man be dead, shall he live?" And presently afterwards he says, "I will wait till I be made again;" and afterwards he repeats the same: "Who shall raise again upon the earth my skin, which is now draining this cup of suffering."

45. Thus much in proof of the profession which we make in the Creed when we say "The resurrection of this flesh." As to the addition "this," see how consonant it is with all that we have cited from the divine books. What else does Job signify in the place which we explained above, "He will raise again my skin, which is now draining this cup of suffering," that is, which is undergoing these torments? Does he not plainly say that there will be a resurrection of this flesh, this, I mean, which is now undergoing the extremity of trials and tribulations? Moreover, when the Apostle says, "This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality," are not his words those of one who in a manner touches his body and places his finger upon it? This body then, which is now corruptible, will by the grace of the resurrection be incorruptible, and this which is now mortal will be clothed with the virtues of immortality, that as "Christ rising from the dead dieth no more, death hath no more dominion over Him," so those who shall rise in Christ shall never again feel corruption or death, not because the nature of flesh will have been cast off, but because its condition and quality will have been changed. There will be a body, therefore, which shall rise from the dead incorruptible and immortal, not only of the righteous,

but also of sinners; of the righteous that they may be able ever to abide with Christ, of sinners that they may undergo without end the punishment due to them.

46. That the righteous shall ever abide with Christ our Lord we have proved above, where we have shewn that the Apostle says, "Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet Christ in the air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord." And marvel not if the flesh of the saints shall be changed into so great glory on the resurrection as to be caught up to meet God, suspended in the clouds and borne in the air, when the same Apostle, setting forth the great things which God bestows on them that love Him, says, "Who shall change our vile body that it may be made like unto His glorious body." It is nowise absurd then, if the bodies of the saints are said to be raised up into the air, seeing that they are said to be renewed after the image of Christ's body, which is seated at God's right hand. But this also the holy Apostle adds, speaking either of himself or of others of his own place or merit, "He will raise us up together with Christ and make us sit together in the heavenly places." Whence, since God's saints have these promises and an infinite number like them respecting the resurrection of the righteous, it will now not be difficult to believe those also which the Prophets have foretold, namely, that "the righteous shall shine as the sun and as the brightness of the firmament in the kingdom of God." For who will think it difficult that they should have the brightness of the sun, and be adorned with the splendour of the stars and of this firmament, for whom the life and conversation of God's angels are

being prepared in heaven, or who are represented as being hereafter to be conformed to the glory of Christ's body? In reference to which glory, promised by the Saviour's mouth, the holy Apostle says, "It is sown an animal body; it will rise a spiritual body." For if it is true, as it certainly is true, that God will vouchsafe to associate every one of the righteous and of the saints in companionship with the angels, it is certain that He will change their bodies also into the glory of a spiritual body.

47. Nor let this promise seem to you contrary to the natural structure of the body. For if we believe, according to what is written, that God took clay of the earth and made man, and that such was the nature of our body that, by the will of God, earth was changed into flesh, why does it seem absurd to you or contrary to reason, if on the same principles on which earth is said to have been advanced to an animal body, an animal body in turn should be believed to be advanced to a spiritual body? These things and many like these you will find in the divine Scriptures concerning the resurrection of the righteous. There will be given to sinners also, as we said above, a condition of incorruption and immortality upon the resurrection, that as God ministers it to the righteous for perpetuity of glory, so He may minister the same to sinners for prolongation of confusion and punishment. For so also the Prophet's words, which we referred to above, determine: "Many shall rise from the dust of the earth, these to life eternal, and these to confusion and eternal shame."

48. If then we have understood in what august

significance God Almighty is called Father, and in what mysterious sense our Lord Jesus Christ is held to be His only Son, and with what entire perfection of meaning His Spirit is called the Holy Spirit, and how the Holy Trinity is one in substance but distinct in property and in Persons, what also is the birth of the Virgin, what the nativity of the Word in the flesh, what the mystery of the Cross, what the end of our Lord's descent into hell, what the glory of the Resurrection, and the delivery of souls from their captivity in the infernal regions, what also His ascension into heaven, and the expected advent of the Judge; moreover how the holy Church ought to be acknowledged as opposed to the congregations of vanity, what is the number of the sacred Volumes, what conventicles of heretics ought to be avoided, and how in the forgiveness of sins there is no opposition whatever between the divine freedom and natural reason, and how not only the sacred oracles but also the example of our Lord and Saviour Himself, and the conclusions of natural reason, confirm the truth of the resurrection of our flesh,—if, I say, we have intelligently followed these in succession in accordance with the rule of the tradition hereinbefore expounded, we pray that the Lord will grant to us, and to all who hear these words, that having kept the faith which we have received, having finished our course, we may await the crown of righteousness laid up for us, and be found among those who shall rise again to eternal life, and be delivered from confusion and eternal shame, through Christ our Lord, through Whom to God the Father Almighty with the Holy Ghost are glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA TO NESTORIUS

AND HIS EPISTLE TO

JOHN, PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH.

INTRODUCTION.

Cyril and Nestorius were the Patriarchs respectively of the two great Patriarchates of Alexandria and Constantinople. Cyril of Alexandria, to which he had been appointed in 412, Nestorius of Constantinople, the former a successor of Athanasius, the latter of Chrysostom.

Nestorius was a native of Germanicia, a town in the Patriarchate of Antioch, of which Church he became a Presbyter. But on the see of Constantinople becoming vacant in 428, the Emperor, who was resolved that none of the Clergy of Constantinople should succeed, sent for him and caused him to be consecrated. He was at first extremely popular. He preached daily, expounding the Scriptures and confuting the arguments of Heretics, Jews, and Heathens, and his eloquence was such that even the last mentioned said of him, which was much to be said of a successor of Chrysostom, that there had never been such a bishop[a].

[a] Tillemont, tom. xiv. p. 286.

It has happened again and again in the Church's history that errors in one direction have proved the occasion of others of an opposite tendency. This seems to have been the case with Nestorianism. It was a sort of recoil from Apollinarianism [b].

The heresy of Apollinaris, which first appeared about the year 370, consisted, at least in one of its branches, in the denial that our blessed Lord had a human soul. The divine Word, it was said, supplied the place of a soul, and thus became one nature with the body in which it dwelt. Apollinarianism had especially infected the Syrian Church, of which Antioch was the metropolis [c], and it is not surprising that the Antiochian clergy were led, in combatting it, to lay much stress on the distinction of the divine and human natures in our Lord, and in so doing sometimes to express themselves so unguardedly, as to give occasion for the charge—possibly not really true at first, but afterwards justified by the position which in the heat of controversy they were driven to take [d],—that they divided Christ into two Persons, the man, Christ Jesus, and the Son of God, Who had vouchsafed to unite Himself to that man in the closest bond of

[b] See on Apollinarianism in connection with Nestorianism, Tillemont, xiv. p. 308; Neander, iv. pp. 98, &c; Garnier's Dissertation, *De Hæresi et libris Nestorii*, in his edition of *Marius Mercator*, vol. ii. pp. 301, &c.

[c] Laodicea, of which Apollinaris was bishop, lay a little to the south of Antioch.

[d] Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose disciple Nestorius had been, is charged with having led the way. See Garnier, as above, pp. 319, &c.

union (*ἄκρα συναφεία*[e]), dwelling in him as in the saints, only with an infinitely closer and more intimate indwelling. On this hypothesis the Son of God was one with the Son of Man, and the Son of Man was exalted to share the dignity and authority (*ἀξία, αὐθεντία*) of the Son of God, as a wife with her husband, but the Son of God had not become man. It followed that He who was born of the Virgin Mary, though united as we have said, and in the manner in which we have said, to the Son of God, was not the Son of God, but man only, and the Virgin consequently ought not, in the language then coming extensively into vogue, to be called Θεοτόκος, "The mother of God:" "The mother of Christ," *χριστοτόκος*, she might be called—the mother of the temple prepared by the Holy Spirit for the habitation of the divine Word—but not "The mother of God[f]."

It was this term Θεοτόκος which served as a spark to ignite the combustible materials which lay ready to explode. A presbyter named Anastasius, whom Nestorius had brought with him from Antioch, and for whom he entertained a high regard, exclaimed one day in a sermon, "Let no man call Mary Θεοτόκος, for Mary was a woman, and for a woman to give birth to God is impossible." These words caused a great disburbance, many looking upon them as a denial of the Deity of our Lord, while at the same time they seemed to detract from the honour of His mother.

Nestorius defended his friend, and in his own sermons continued to reprobate the term. Meanwhile, Proclus, who had been a candidate for the see of

[e] Cyril's formula was ἕνωσις.

[f] Robertson, p. 399.

Constantinople, and whose zeal against Nestorius therefore might be open to the suspicion of being influenced, in part at least, by other than the highest motives, having to preach either at the Christmas Festival, or at that of the Annunciation, took occasion to controvert the arguments of Nestorius, though without naming him, throwing out hints that he and his friends believed our Lord to be no other than a man deified. The sermon was received with loud acclamations by the people. Nestorius, however, rose and replied to it, warning his hearers to take heed, lest in their zeal for the honour of the Virgin mother they should detract from the dignity of the divine Word[g]. So matters went on, everything tending towards a schism. Many of the clergy and monks of Constantinople renounced communion with their Archbishop, charging him with being a follower of Paul of Samosata, and several Presbyters preached against him. He forbade their preaching, and deposed some of them from their office[h].

At this point Cyril's part in the controversy begins. Copies of Nestorius's sermons had found their way to Alexandria, and had been circulated among the Egyptian monks, many of whom had in consequence given up the use of the term Θεοτόκος. It was a custom of long standing, enjoined by the Council of Nicæa, for the Patriarchs of Alexandria to put forth a letter (γράμματα πάσχαλα) before the commencement of the Lent Fast, fixing the time at which the ensuing Easter

[g] Proclus's Sermon and Nestorius's reply are given in *Marius Mercator*, ed. Garnier, vol. ii. pp. 19, &c.

[h] Tillemont, xiv. p. 324.

should be celebrated, appending to it such pastoral instructions as the circumstances of the Church seemed to suggest. Cyril availed himself of this opportunity to expound the doctrine of the union of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ: Next, he took up the same subject in a letter addressed, after the Easter Festival, to the Egyptian monks[i]. In both of these writings he carried out the distinction between an *essential* and *natural union*, and a union barely *relative* and *moral*. He justified the *transfer of predicates*[k], of which the designation of Mary as Θεοτόκος was a particular instance. He endeavoured to shew that, unless the former were adopted with all its consequences, Christ would be represented as a mere man, whom God employed like other men (though in an infinitely higher sense than other men) as an instrument—in which case He could not be the Redeemer of mankind. The reason, Cyril stated, why he addressed the monks on this subject, was that evil reports had got among them: and people were abroad who were seeking to disturb their simple faith, by starting such questions as whether Mary ought to be called Θεοτόκος."

Nestorius was greatly annoyed by this letter, and made no secret of his annoyance. On learning which

[i] Neander, iv. 135; Tillem., 328.

[k] "Whereby those concrete names, God and Man, when we speak of Christ, do take interchangeably one another's room, so that for truth of speech it skilleth not, whether we say that the Son of God hath created the world, and the Son of Man by His death hath saved it, or else that the Son of Man did create, and the Son of God die to save the world."—Hooker, v. 53, 4.

Cyril wrote to him personally[l], saying that he had only himself to blame for any vexation which the letter might have caused—that his teaching, if indeed it was his teaching, was leading many into error—insomuch that they hesitated to confess Christ to be God, speaking of Him as rather ὄργανον καὶ ἐργαλεῖον Θεότητος—an instrument or implement of Godhead—and ἄνθρωπος Θεοφόρος—a man who bore or carried God within him. How could one in Cyril's position remain silent? Let Nestorius retract his teaching and consent to adopt the term Θεοτόκος, and thus put an end to the dissensions and tumults to which his doctrine and conduct had given rise.

Nestorius replied in a short letter, written at the instance of a presbyter named Lampon, whose mild persuasiveness he says he could not resist. The letter, which is thoroughly genuine in its tone, and which it must have cost Nestorius an effort to write, indicates the soothing influence which Lampon's gentleness had exercised over him. In spite of the soreness occasioned by Cyril's letter to himself, as well as by what he had written to others, he seemed prepared to make advances of a friendly kind[m]. But matters had gone too far for accommodation. Over and above the exasperation which existed on both sides Nestorius's doctrine was of a kind which could not be suffered to remain unrebuked, and Cyril, whatever admixture there may or may not have been of less worthy motives, felt himself called upon to interpose once more.

Accordingly he wrote to him a second letter—the

[l] Cyril ad Nestor., Ep. 1; Labbe, iii. 313.

[m] Labbe, 315.

first of the three which follow—in which, after reciting portions of the Nicene Creed, he proceeds to set forth the doctrine of the Incarnation, in accordance with the teaching of that document—enlarging especially on those points on which Nestorius had shewn himself to be in error.

This letter, whose clear and distinct statements of doctrine are of the greatest value, was not only approved by a Council of the Egyptian Churches held at Alexandria, and by another Council held at Rome, but was publicly read in the general Council of Ephesus, and formally accepted there as its own[n]. It was accepted afterwards in like manner by the Council of Chalcedon, and together with another of Cyril's letters on the same subject—the one addressed to John of Antioch—referred to as a standard of orthodoxy in the Definition of faith put forth by that Council.

Nestorius replied in a letter of some length, endeavouring to shew, though ineffectually, that the language of the Nicene Creed to which Cyril had referred, was on his side and not on Cyril's[o]. This letter, on being read at the Council of Ephesus, was anathematized by the assembled bishops, as contrary to Scrip-

[n] Concil. Ephes. Labbe, iii. The Nicene Creed recited, 460, then Cyril's second letter read, 462, then, 462—492, the Bishops, one by one, declare their approval, and its agreement with the Nicene Creed, then Nestorius's Epistle replying to it read, 492, then the Bishops severally condemn Nestorius's Ep., 493, &c., then a number of extracts from earlier writers are read confirmatory of the doctrine of Cyril and of the Council, 508, &c., then Nestorius formally deposed, 534.

[o] Labbe, iii. 321.

ture and to the faith of the Church, and full of calumny against Cyril and of blasphemy against Jesus Christ.

Cyril now sought to enlist the Court on his side. He wrote two letters of considerable length, addressing one to the Emperor Theodosius, junior, and his wife, Eudocia, and the other to the Emperor's sisters, one of whom, Pulcheria, a woman of commanding influence, became especially instrumental in forwarding the orthodox cause.

He wrote also, and so did Nestorius likewise, to Celestine, Bishop of Rome. But there was an observable difference in the style of their letters. Nestorius addressed the Pope as an equal, Cyril "in a strain of subserviency, of which there had been no precedent on the part of his predecessors," but which would no doubt be very acceptable to a Prelate who was ready to welcome whatever tended to augment the dignity and importance of his see.

Celestine decided in a synod held at Rome "that the clergy excommunicated by Nestorius should be received back to the fellowship of the Church; and that Nestorius, unless he should present, within ten days after the reception of this decision, a written recantation of his errors, should be excommunicated and deprived of his office." A letter to this effect was sent to Cyril, and he was requested to put it in execution.

Cyril, after some delay, forwarded to Nestorius Celestine's letter, together with one from himself, written in the name of a Council of the Bishops of the Egyptian Province, held at Alexandria, requiring him to renounce his errors, and to subscribe a number of

anathemas appended to it. This is the second of the following letters. The anathemas excited much controversy, and were condemned by some who otherwise were favourable to Cyril. The letter was read at the Council of Ephesus, though, apparently, as regarded the anathemas, without any signs of approval. Their language was thought by many of the Eastern bishops to be, to say the least, incautious, insomuch that, while opposing Nestorius, Cyril had well-nigh fallen into Apollinarianism. This was especially the judgment of John, Patriarch of Antioch, at whose instigation Theodoret, one of the most eminent divines of the day, wrote a treatise against them[p]. Nestorius himself put forth a like number of counter anathemas.

Cyril's second letter was read at Chalcedon, and together with his letter to John of Antioch was referred to in the Definition of Faith put forth by the Council as a standard of orthodoxy, but his third letter, though a request was made that it might be read, would seem to have been passed over without further notice. Probably the anathemas, which were distasteful to many, made the Council unwilling either to sanction it formally, on the one hand, or to express disapproval on the other.

Nestorius now appealed to a general Council. And Theodosius, in his own name and that of the Western Emperor, summoned one to meet at Ephesus the following Whitsuntide (A.D. 431), requiring that in the meantime all things should remain as they were.

[p] Tillem., 358, 393. (See Theodoret's treatise and Cyril's defence in Labbe, vol. iii.)

There is no occasion here to go into the history of the Council, Its details are sufficiently painful. The only circumstance which has a special bearing upon the Epistles which follow is the quarrel which broke out between Cyril and John, Patriarch of Antioch. Cyril and Nestorius had both arrived at Ephesus before the appointed day. But John's journey had been retarded by heavy rains, which had swollen some of the rivers which he had to cross. When he arrived he found that the Council had begun its sittings without waiting for him, and had already proceeded to condemn and depose Nestorius, who himself had refused to appear till John should arrive. On learning what had been done, John was filled with indignation, and immediately held a Council of the bishops who accompanied him, 14 in number, and 29 others, pronounced Cyril guilty of turbulence and of reviving the heresies of Apollinaris and Arius, and declared him and Memnon, Bishop of Ephesus, who had taken part with him in his irregular proceedings, deposed and excommunicated.

The Letter to John of Antioch was written on the occasion of the healing of this breach between the two Patriarchs, in April, 433. The Emperor, who was greatly distressed at the dissension, so discreditable to the Christian cause, endeavoured to promote a reconciliation, and proposed that John and Cyril should meet at Nicomedia, in Bithynia. John, however, declined the conference, but offered to communicate with Cyril on condition of his condemning his own anathemas and acknowledging the Nicene Creed as a sufficient rule of faith. To condemn his own anathemas was, of

course, more than could be expected, but he offered to explain what he had written, if the Orientals—i.e. John and the Antiochian Church, would accept the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, the deposition of Nestorius, and the consecration of Maximian, who had been appointed in Nestorius's room. As to the Nicene Creed, he acknowledged its sufficiency, but not in such a way as should exclude the proper interpretations of it in points where it might be misrepresented by heretics. John, who was now disposed to an accommodation, sent Paul, Bishop of Emesa, to Alexandria to promote it. Cyril subscribed a Creed which Paul had brought, drawn up, as he represented, by John and his suffragans; and John agreed to sign the condemnation of Nestorius, and to approve the consecration of Maximian. On these terms the two Patriarchs, with their respective Churches, Alexandria and Antioch, were reconciled.

A few words may be necessary by way of following out the history of Nestorius. The Emperor, partly through the powerful influence of his sister Pulcheria, whom Nestorius had offended, partly through dread of the monks and of the populace, who were vehemently opposed to him, and had tumultuously demanded his deposition, had ordered him to retire to a monastery near Antioch, of which he had formerly been an inmate. There he was suffered to remain nearly four years, and was treated with great respect. But at length, in 435, his enemies succeeded in persuading Theodosius to adopt severer measures. His property was seized, and he was banished to the Great Oasis, where he was captured by a wild tribe of marauders, and afterwards dismissed by them as a prize not worth the trouble of

taking charge of. He then surrendered himself into the hands of one of the Imperial officers, and after being treated with great cruelty, being hurried about from place to place, he was happily relieved by death, about the year 440.

ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA

TO NESTORIUS.

THE SECOND EPISTLE.

Feb. 430.

To the most religious Nestorius, most dear to God, our Fellow-minister, Cyril, greeting in the Lord.

Certain persons, as I hear, are making free with my reputation before your Holiness, and that repeatedly, watching the occasion especially when councils are being held, thinking, it may be, to gratify you by so doing. And they utter ill-advised speeches to my disadvantage, though they have suffered no wrong at my hands, except that they have been reprehended, and that deservedly—one for having defrauded the blind and the poor, another for having drawn his sword upon his mother, and a third for having stolen money, with a maid-servant for an accomplice, and as having always borne such a character as no one would wish his worst enemy to bear.

But I make no great account of these matters lest I should stretch the measure of my littleness beyond my Lord and Master, or even beyond the Fathers. For it is impossible to escape the perverseness of bad men, however one may order one's life. But they, having their mouth full of cursing and bitterness, shall give account to the Judge of all.

But I return to what specially concerns myself, and admonish thee, as a brother in the Lord, to use all possible circumspection in teaching the people, and in setting forth the doctrine of the faith, bearing in mind that to offend even one of these little ones who believe in Christ, subjects the person guilty of it to intolerable punishment. And if so great numbers of persons have been thus injured how do we not need all possible care and study that we may do away the offences, and rightly expound the doctrine of the faith to those who are seeking the truth! And in this we shall succeed, if, betaking ourselves to the statements of the holy fathers, we are careful to esteem them highly, and, proving ourselves whether we be in the faith, as it is written, thoroughly conform our own beliefs to their sound and unexceptionable doctrines.

The holy and great Council[a] then affirmed that the very "only-begotten Son," naturally "begotten of the Father," "very God of very God," "Light of Light," by whom the Father made all things, "came down, became incarnate, and was made man, suffered, rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven." These words and these formulæ it behoves us also to adhere to, considering what is meant when it is said that the Word which is of God (τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Λόγον) "became incarnate and was made man."

For we do not affirm that the nature of the Word underwent a change and became flesh, or that it was transformed into a whole or perfect man consisting of soul and body; but we say that the Word, having in an

[a] Of Nicæa. Nestorius in his third Sermon had appealed to the Nicene Creed. *Mercator*, ii. p. 13.

ineffable and inconceivable manner personally united to Himself flesh instinct with a living soul, became man and was called the Son of Man, yet not of mere will or favour, nor again by the simple taking to Himself of a person (i.e. of a human person to His divine person), and that while the natures which were brought together into this true unity were diverse there was of both one Christ and one Son: not as though the diverseness of the natures were done away by this union, but rather the Godhead and Manhood completed for us the one Lord and Christ and Son by their unutterable and unspeakable concurrence and unity. And thus, although He subsisted and was begotten of the Father before the worlds, He is spoken of as having been born also after the flesh of a woman: not that His divine nature had its beginning of existence in the holy Virgin, or needed of necessity on its own account a second generation after its generation from the Father, for it is foolish and absurd to say that He who subsisted before all worlds, and was co-eternal with the Father, stood in need of a second beginning of existence, but forasmuch as the Word having "for us and for our salvation," personally (*καθ' ὑπόστασιν*) united to Himself human nature, came forth of a woman, for this reason He is said to have been born after the flesh (*σαρκικῶς*). For He was not first born an ordinary man of the holy Virgin, and then the Word descended upon Him, but having been made one (*ἑνωθείς*) with the flesh from the very womb itself, He is said to have submitted to a birth according to the flesh, as appropriating and making His own the birth of His own flesh.

In like manner we say that He "suffered" and "rose again." Not as though God the Word suffered in His own divine nature either stripes or the piercing of nails, or the other wounds inflicted on Him, for the Godhead is impassible because It is incorporeal. But forasmuch as that which had become His own body suffered these things, therefore again He Himself is said to have suffered them for us. For the Impassible was in the suffering body.

So likewise of His death. For the Word of God is by nature both incorruptible, and Life, and Life-giving, but forasmuch as His own body by the grace of God, as Paul says, tasted death for every man, therefore once more He Himself is said to have suffered death for us. Not as though He experienced death as regards His own (divine) nature—to say or hold which is madness—but that, as I said just now, His flesh tasted death.

So likewise when His flesh was raised, the resurrection again is spoken of as His resurrection, not as though He had seen corruption, God forbid, but because once more it was His own body that was raised.

Thus we confess one Christ and Lord, not as worshipping a man conjointly with the Word, that there may not through this phrase "conjointly" be insinuated the semblance of division (as though we were dividing the one Christ into two Persons)—but as worshipping one and the same Person, because the body of the Lord is not alien from the Lord, with which body also He sits with the Father Himself: not again as though two sons do sit with the Father, but

one united to His own flesh. But if we reject this hypostatic union (*τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἕνωσιν*) either as impossible or unmeet, we fall into the error of making two sons. For in that case we must needs distinguish and speak of the man severally (the human person) dignified with the appellation of Son, and again of the Word which is of God severally (the divine Person) possessing naturally the Sonship, both name and thing; (i.e. if we reject a union of substances or natures in the one Person, we make two several Sons, and must perforce distinguish—speaking of the One, as merely dignified with the title of Son, the other as Son in reality as well as in name).

We must not then divide the one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons. To hold this will nowise contribute to soundness of faith, even though some make a show of acknowledging a union of persons. For Scripture does not say that The Word united to Himself the person (*πρόσωπον*) of a man, but that "He became flesh." But this expression "the Word became flesh" is nothing else than that He became partaker of flesh and blood, just as we do, and made our body His own, and was born a man of a woman (*ἐκ' γυναικός*), not casting aside the being God, and the having been begotten of God the Father, but even when taking to Himself flesh still remaining what He was. This is the doctrine which strict orthodoxy everywhere prescribes (literally gives the place of honour to). Thus shall we find the holy fathers to have held. So did they make bold to call the holy Virgin "the Mother of God." Not as though the nature of the Word or His Godhead had its beginning from the holy Virgin,

but forasmuch as His holy Body, endued with a rational soul, was born of her, to which Body also the Word was personally (*καθ' ὑπόστασιν*) united (i.e. the two substances united in one Person, in opposition to the union of two Persons), on this account He is said to have been born after the flesh.

Thus, writing out of the love which I have in Christ, I entreat thee as a brother, and charge thee before Christ and the elect angels, to hold and teach these things with us, that the peace of the Churches may be preserved, and that the bond of harmony and love between the priests of God may remain unbroken.

This Epistle was read and approved severally by the bishops at Ephesus, Labbe, iii. 461. Then Nestorius's reply was read and condemned, 491. See note n, p. 150, above.

ST. CYRIL AND THE SYNOD OF ALEXANDRIA TO NESTORIUS:

With the Twelve Chapters appended.

THE THIRD EPISTLE.

November, 430.

To the most religious Nestorius, most dear to God, our Fellow-minister, Cyril and the Synod assembled at Alexandria in the Province of Egypt, Greeting in the Lord.

I. When our Saviour says in plain terms, "He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me, and he that loveth son or daughter more than Me is not worthy of Me," what should be our feelings who are asked by thy religiousness to love thee more than Christ, our common Saviour? Who shall be able to succour us in the day of judgment, or what apology shall we find for our so long silence under thy blasphemies against Him? If indeed it were only thyself whom thou wast injuring in holding and teaching such things, it would be of less consequence, but seeing that thou hast given offence to the universal Church, and hast cast the leaven of a novel and strange heresy among the lay people, and not the lay people of Constantinople only (for copies of thy sermons have been circulated everywhere), what satisfactory account can any longer be given of our silence, or how are we

not bound to remember Christ's words, "Think not that I am come to send peace on the earth; I am not come to send peace but a sword: for I am come to set a man against his father, and a daughter against her mother." For when the faith is being tampered with, perish reverence for parents, as a thing unseasonable and pregnant with mischief, and let the law of natural affection to children and brethren be set aside, and let religious men count death better than life, that, as it is written, they may obtain a better resurrection.

II. Take notice then that in conjunction with the holy synod which was assembled in the elder Rome, under the presidency of our most pious and religious fellow-minister, Bishop Celestine, we conjure and counsel thee, in this third letter also, to abstain from these mischievous and perverse doctrines, which thou dost both hold and teach, and to adopt in place of them the orthodox faith delivered to the Churches from the beginning by the holy Apostles and Evangelists, who were both eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word. And unless thou do this by the time prescribed in the Epistle of our aforementioned, most pious and religious brother and fellow-minister, Celestine, bishop of the Church of the Romans, know that thou hast neither part nor lot with us, nor place nor account among the priests and bishops of God. For it is impossible that we should bear to see the Churches thus thrown into confusion, and the lay people scandalized, and the orthodox faith set aside, and the flocks scattered abroad by thee who oughtest rather to preserve them in safety, if thou wert, as we, a lover of sound doctrine, treading in the religious footsteps of the holy fathers. But

with all, both laity and clergy, who have been excommunicated or deposed for faith's sake by thy religiousness, we all are in communion. For it is not just that those who hold the true faith should be wronged by thy sentence, for having rightly withstood thee. For this same thing thou didst signify in thy letter to our most holy fellow-bishop Celestine, bishop of the elder Rome.

But it will not be enough for thee merely to join with us in acknowledging the Symbol of the faith, which was sometime put forth in the Holy Ghost by the holy and great Council assembled at Nicæa. For thou hast put a wrong sense and interpretation upon it, or rather thou hast wrested its meaning even while acknowledging it verbally in the letter. But it behoved thee, if thou wert consistent, to confess in writing and on oath, that thou dost anathematize those abominable and profane doctrines of thine, and wilt hold and teach what we all do—the bishops and doctors and rulers of the people throughout both East and West. Moreover the holy synod held at Rome, and we all acquiesce in the Epistle written to thy religiousness by the Church of the Alexandrians, as orthodox and unexceptionable. And we have subjoined to this letter of ours a statement of what it behoves thee to hold and to teach, and of what to hold aloof from. For this is the faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church with which all the orthodox bishops throughout both East and West are in agreement.

III. We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things, visible and invisible;

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God,

Begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father,

God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God,

Begotten not made,

Of one substance with the Father,

By Whom all things were made, both in heaven and on earth,

Who for us men and for our salvation came down, and became incarnate, and was made man,

He suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven, and shall come to judge the quick and the dead;

And in the Holy Ghost.

But those who say, There was when the Son of God was not, and before He was begotten He was not, and He came into being from things that are not, or that He is of another substance or essence, and that He is mutable or alterable,—these the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.

Following in every particular the confessions of the holy Fathers, which they have drawn up under the guidance of the Holy Spirit speaking in them, and keeping close to the meaning which they had in view, and journeying, so to speak, along the king's highway, we affirm that the very only-begotten Word of God, begotten of the very substance of the Father, very God of very God, Light of Light, by Whom all things were made, both in heaven and on earth, for our salvation came down, and of His condescension emptied Himself, and became incarnate and was made man, that is, having taken flesh of the Holy Virgin, and made it His own from the womb, He vouchsafed to be born as

we, and proceeded forth, a man from a woman, not ceasing to be what He was, but even when He became man by taking upon Him flesh and blood, still continuing what He was,—God in nature and truth. Neither do we say that the flesh was converted into the divine nature, nor surely that the ineffable nature of God the Word was debased and changed into the nature of flesh, for it is unchangeable and unalterable, ever continuing altogether the same according to the Scriptures: but we say that the Son of God, while visible to the eyes, and a babe and in swaddling clothes, and still at the breast of His Virgin Mother, filled all creation as God, and was seated with His Father. For the divine nature is without quantity and without magnitude and without limit.

IV. Confessing then the personal union of the Word with the flesh (*ἡνῶσθαι καθ' ὑπόστασιν*), we worship one Son and Lord, Jesus Christ, neither parting and sundering man and God, as though they were connected with one another by a unity of dignity and authority (*συνημμένους τῇ τῆς ἀξίας καὶ αὐθεντίας ἑνότητι*), (for this were vain babbling and nothing else), nor surely calling the Word of God Christ in one sense, and in like manner Him Who is of the woman Christ in another sense; but knowing only one Christ, the Word which is of God the Father with His own flesh. For then (i.e. when He took flesh) He was anointed with us after the fashion of man, i.e. as man, while yet to those who are worthy to receive It Himself gives the Holy Spirit, and not by measure, as saith the blessed Evangelist John.

But neither again do we say that the Word which is of God dwelt in Him Who was born of the Holy

Virgin as in an ordinary man, lest Christ should be understood to be a man who carries God (within Him) (*Θεοφόρος ἄνθρωπος*), for though the Word "dwelt in us," and "all the fulness of the Godhead," as it is said, "dwelt in Christ bodily," yet we understand, that when He became flesh the indwelling was not such as when He is said to dwell in the saints, but that having been united by a union of natures (*ἑνωθεὶς κατὰ φύσιν*) (the two natures united in the one Person), and not converted into flesh, He brought to pass such an indwelling as the soul of man may be said to have with its own body.

V. There is then one Christ and Son and Lord, not as though He were a man connected with God simply by a unity of dignity or authority (*ἑνότητι τῆς ἀξίας ἤγουν αὐθεντίας*), for equality of honour does not unite natures,—Peter and John are equal in honour in that they are apostles and holy disciples, but the two are not one (person)—*οὐχ εἷς οἱ δύο*.

Nor certainly do we understand the mode of connection to be that of juxtaposition (*κατὰ παράθεσιν*), for this does not suffice to express a union of natures.

Nor do we understand the union to be in the way of relative participation (*κατὰ μέθεξιν σχετικήν*) as we, "being joined to the Lord," as it is written, "are one spirit with Him;" but rather we reject the term "connection" (*συναφεία*) altogether, as insufficient to signify the union.

Nor do we call the Word which is of God the Father the God or Sovereign of Christ, lest we should again openly divide the one Christ, the Son and Lord, into two, and incur the charge of blasphemy, by making

Him the God and Sovereign of Himself. For the Word of God being personally united with flesh, as we said, (*ἑνωθεὶς σαρκὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν*), is God of the universe and Sovereign of the whole world. Neither is He His own servant or His own Sovereign; for it were folly, or rather impiety, so to hold or say. He did indeed speak of God as His own Father, though yet Himself God by nature, and of His Father's essence. But we are not ignorant, that while He continued God He also became man subject under God, as befits the law of man's nature. But how could He become the God or Sovereign of Himself? Wherefore as man, and as befits the measure of His humiliation, He speaks of Himself as subject under God with us. So also He became under the Law, though Himself spake the Law, and is the Lawgiver, as God.

VI. We refuse also to say of Christ, "For the sake of Him who assumes I worship Him Who is assumed; for the sake of Him Who is seen I worship Him who is unseen." It shocks me also to say, "He that is assumed shares the name of God with Him Who assumes." For he who so speaks again makes two several Christs, one God and one man. For he confessedly denies the union, according to which there is understood one Christ Jesus—not one jointly worshipped with another, or jointly sharing the name of God with another, but one Christ Jesus, one only-begotten Son, honoured with one worship with His own flesh.

We confess also that the very Son, which was begotten of God the Father, and is the only-begotten God, though being in His own nature impassible, suffered for us in the flesh, according to the Scriptures,

and was in His Crucified Body impassibly appropriating and making His own the sufferings of His own flesh. And "by the grace of God He tasted death also for every man," yielding to death His own body, though originally and by nature Life, and Himself the Resurrection. For "He tasted death for every man," as I said, and returned to life again on the third day, bringing with Him the spoils of Hell, that having trampled upon death by His ineffable might, He might in His own flesh first become the "first-born from the dead," and the "first-fruits of them that sleep," and might prepare the way for the return of man's nature to immortality. So that, though it be said, "By man came the resurrection of the dead," yet by "man" we understand the Word which was begotten of God, and that by Him has the dominion of death been destroyed. And He will come at the appointed time, as one Son and Lord, in the glory of the Father, to judge the world in righteousness, as it is written.

VII. And we will perforce add this also. For shewing forth the death in the flesh of the only-begotten Son of God, that is, of Jesus Christ, and confessing His return to life from the dead, and His assumption into heaven, we celebrate the unbloody service in the Churches, and so approach the mystic Benedictions, and are sanctified, being made partakers of the holy flesh and precious blood of Christ the Saviour of us all, receiving it not as ordinary flesh, God forbid, nor as the flesh of a man sanctified and joined to the Word by a unity of dignity, or as having God dwelling in Him, but as Life-giving of a truth and the very own flesh of the Word Himself. For being, as God,

life by nature, when He became one with His own flesh, He made that flesh life-giving. So that though He says to us, "Verily, verily I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood," yet we shall not account it as though it were the flesh of an ordinary man (for how could the flesh of a man be life-giving of its own nature?) but as having become of a truth the own flesh of Him, Who for our sakes became and was called both Son and Man.

VIII. Moreover we do not distribute the Words of our Saviour in the Gospels to two several subsistences or Persons. For the one and sole Christ is not twofold, although we conceive of Him as consisting of two distinct substances inseparably united, even as a man is conceived of as consisting of soul and body, and yet is not twofold but one of both. But if we hold the right faith we shall believe both the human language and the divine to have been used by one Person. For when, speaking as befits God, He says of Himself, "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father," and "I and the Father are one," we recognize His divine and ineffable nature, by which He is one also with His own Father because of the identity of essence, being the image and impress and effulgence of His glory. But when, not shrinking from acknowledging what belonged to His human nature, He says to the Jews, "Now ye seek to kill Me, a man, Who have spoken unto you the truth," we no less recognize Him even out of the measure of His human nature, God the Word equal and like to His Father. For if it is necessary to believe that, being God by nature,

He became flesh, that is to say man instinct with a rational soul, what ground could any one have for being ashamed of words spoken by Him, because they were such as were proper to man? For if He should shrink from using language proper to man, Who constrained Him to become a man, such as we? He that for our sakes humbled Himself to a voluntary abasement of Himself, why should He shrink from using language suitable to that abasement? To one Person, therefore, must be attributed all the expressions used in the Gospels, the one incarnate hypostasis of the Word, for the Lord Jesus Christ is one according to the Scriptures.

IX. And if He be called also "The Apostle and High-Priest of our Profession," as ministering to God the Father the confession of faith which is offered on our parts both to Him, and through Him to God the Father, and assuredly to the Holy Spirit also, again we aver that He is by nature the only-begotten Son of God, and we do not attribute the Priesthood, name and thing, to another man beside Him. For He is become a Mediator between God and Man, and a peace-maker, having offered up Himself for a smell of sweet savour to God the Father. For which cause also He said, "Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body thou hast prepared for Me. In whole-burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin Thou hadst no pleasure. Then said I, Lo, I come. In the Volume of the Book it is written of Me, to do Thy will, O God." For He hath offered His own body for a sweet-smelling savour for us and not for Himself. For what offering or sacrifice did He need for Him-

self, being by nature as God above all sin? For though "all we have sinned and do come short of the glory of God," even as we are prone to turn aside, and man's nature is diseased with the disease of sin (it is not so with Him), and do come short, therefore, of His glory, how could any doubt remain that the true Lamb of God hath been slain on our account, and in our behalf? To say that "He offered Himself both for Himself and for us" is nothing short of blasphemy. For in nothing was He an offender or a sinner. Of what offering then did He stand in need, there being no sin for which offering should be made in any reason?

X. And when He says of the Spirit, "He shall glorify Me," if we understand the words rightly, we shall not say that the one Christ and Son received glory from the Holy Ghost, as being in need of glory from another, for the Holy Ghost is not superior to Him and above Him. But since for the manifestation of His Godhead, He made use of the Holy Ghost for the working of miracles, He says that "He was glorified by Him," just as any one of us might say, of his strength, for instance, or his skill in any matter, "they shall glorify me." For though the Holy Spirit has a personal subsistence of His own, and is conceived of by Himself, in that He is the Spirit and not the Son, yet He is not therefore alien from the Son. For He is called "the Spirit of Truth," and Christ is "the Truth," and He is poured forth from Him just as He is also from God the Father. For which cause the Holy Ghost glorified Him when He wrought miracles by the hands of the holy Apostles

also, after our Lord Jesus Christ had gone up to heaven. For Himself working miracles by His own Spirit was believed to be God by nature. For which reason also He said, "He shall take of Mine and shall shew it unto you." On the other hand, we do not say for a moment, that the Holy Spirit is wise and powerful by participation. For He is perfect in every respect, and wanting of no possible good. But since He is the Spirit of the Father's Power and Wisdom, that is, of the Son's, He is in very deed Wisdom and Power Himself.

XI. But forasmuch as the holy Virgin brought forth after the flesh God personally united to flesh, for this reason we say of her that she is "the Mother of God," (Θεοτόκος); not as though the nature of the Word had its beginning of being from the flesh, for He was "in the beginning," and "the Word was God, and the Word was with God," and He is the Maker of the worlds, co-eternal with the Father, and the Creator of the universe, but, as we said before, because having personally united man's nature to Himself, He vouchsafed also to be born in the flesh, of her womb. Not that He needed of necessity, or for His own nature, to be born in time and in the last ages of the world, but that He might bless the very first element of our being, and that, a woman having borne Him united to flesh, there might be made to cease thenceforward the curse lying upon our whole race, which sends to death our bodies which are of the earth, and that the sentence, "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children," being annulled by Him, the words of the Prophet might be verified, "Death prevailed and swallowed up, and then again God wiped away every tear

from every face." For this cause we affirm also that He blessed marriage in accordance with the dispensation by which He became man (οἰκονομικῶς), and went with His holy Apostles to a marriage-feast when invited at Cana of Galilee.

These things we have been taught to hold by the holy Apostles and Evangelists, and by all divinely inspired Scripture, and by the true confession of the blessed Fathers. To all of them it behoves thy Religiousness also to assent and consent without guile of any sort.

Now the statements which it is necessary for thy Religiousness to anathematize are subjoined to this our Epistle:—

1. If any one does not confess Emmanuel to be very God, and does not acknowledge the holy Virgin consequently to be "the Mother of God," for she brought forth after the flesh the Word of God become flesh, be he anathema.

2. If any one does not confess that the Word which is of God the Father hath been personally united to flesh, and is one Christ with His own flesh, the same person, that is, being both God and man alike, be he anathema.

3. If any one in the one Christ divides the subsistences after the union, connecting them only by a connection of dignity or authority or rule, and not rather by a union of natures, be he anathema.

4. If any one distributes to two Persons or Subsistences the expressions used both in the Gospels and in the Epistles, or used of Christ by the Saints, or by Him of Himself, attributing some to a man, conceived

of separately, apart from the Word which is of God, and attributing others, as befitting God, exclusively to the Word which is of God the Father, be he anathema.

5. If any one dares to say that Christ is a man who carries God (within Him), and not rather that He is God in truth, as one Son even by nature, even as the Word became flesh, and became partaker in like manner as ourselves of blood and flesh, be he anathema.

6. If any one dares to say that the Word which is of God the Father is the God or Sovereign of Christ, and does not rather confess the same to be both God and man alike, the Word having become flesh, according to the Scriptures, be he anathema.

7. If any one says that Jesus as man was actuated by God the Word, and that He was invested with the glory of the only-begotten, as being other than He, be he anathema.

8. If any one dares to say that the man who was assumed ought to be worshipped jointly with God the Word, and glorified jointly, and ought jointly to share the name of God, as one in another (for the "jointly" (σὺν) which is always added obliges one to understand this), and does not rather honour Emmanuel with one worship, and offer to Him one ascription of Glory, inasmuch as the Word hath become flesh, be he anathema.

9. If any one says that the one Lord, Jesus Christ, was glorified by the Spirit, as though the power which He exercised was another's, received through the Spirit, and not his own, and that He received from the Spirit the power of countervailing unclean spirits, and of working divine miracles upon men, and does not

rather say that it was His own Spirit by Whom He wrought divine miracles, be he anathema.

10. Divine Scripture saith, that Christ became "the High-Priest and Apostle of our profession," and that He "offered up Himself for us for a sweet-smelling savour to God the Father." If then any one says that it was not the very Word of God Himself Who became our High-Priest and Apostle, when He became flesh and man as we, but another than He, and distinct from Him, a man born of a Woman; or if any one says that He offered the sacrifice for Himself also, and not rather for us alone, for He Who knew no sin had no need of offering, be he anathema.

11. If any one does not confess that the Lord's flesh is life-giving, and that it is the own flesh of the Word of God the Father, but affirms that it is the flesh of another than He, connected with Him by dignity, or as having only a divine indwelling, and not rather, as we said, that it is life-giving, because it hath become the own flesh of the Word Who is able to quicken all things, be he anathema.

12. If any one does not confess that the Word of God suffered in the flesh, and was crucified in the flesh, and tasted death in the flesh, and became the first-born from the dead, even as He is both Life and Life-giving, as God, be he anathema.

ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA

TO

JOHN, PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH.

MARCH OR APRIL, 433.

TO MY LORD, MY BELOVED BROTHER AND FELLOW-MINISTER, JOHN, CYRIL, GREETING IN THE LORD.

"LET the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad," for the mid-wall of partition is broken down, and the cause of sorrow is removed, and all manner of dissension taken away, Christ, our common Saviour, awarding peace to His own Churches, to which peace, moreover, the most religious Princes, most dear to God, have called us, who, nobly emulating the piety of their ancestors, preserve in their own souls the orthodox faith firm and unshaken, while they take exceeding great care of the holy Churches, that they may win eternal renown, and may make their Empire most illustrious; on whom also the Lord of Hosts Himself bestows good things with a liberal hand, and gives them to prevail over their enemies, and grants them victory, for He would not utterly belie His word. "As I live, saith the Lord, them that honour Me, I will honour."

On the arrival then at Alexandria of my lord Paul [a],

[a] Paul, Bishop of Emesa in Phœnicia Libani. He had been sent by John (whom the Emperor had charged to put an end to the dissension which was dividing not only himself

my brother and fellow-minister, most dear to God, we were filled with joy; and with good reason, seeing that such a man was acting as mediator, and had voluntarily encountered excessive toils that he might vanquish the envy of the devil, and join together what had been sundered, and having cleared away the stumbing-blocks which had been cast between us, might crown both our Churches and yours with unanimity and peace. How they came to be sundered it is needless to say; it behoves us rather, I imagine, both to mind and speak what is in keeping with a time of peace.

We were delighted then at the happy coming of the aforementioned most religious man, who possibly anticipated that it would cost him no small exertion to persuade us that we ought to make peace between the Churches, and do away with the ridicule of the heretics, and moreover blunt the sting of the devil's malice, but, on the contrary, found us so ready for this, that he had absolutely no trouble at all. For we bear in mind the Saviour's words, "My peace I give unto you, My peace I leave unto you," and we have been taught moreover to pray, "O Lord our God, give us peace, for Thou art the bountiful giver of all things." So that if one become a partaker of the peace which God liberally supplies, he will lack no good thing.

But that the variance between the Churches was altogether groundless and without any real cause, we are now most entirely convinced, my lord, the most

and Cyril, but the Churches of Antioch and Alexandria) to Alexandria to mediate between the two Patriarchs.—See *Labbe*, vol. iii. p. 7.

religious bishop Paul, having produced a paper containing an unexceptionable confession of faith, which, he affirms, was drawn up by thy Holiness and the most religious bishops there (at Antioch). The writing is to this effect, and it is inserted word for word in this our letter:—

THE CONFESSION OF JOHN AND THE ORIENTALS.

"Concerning the Virgin Mother of God, how we both hold and speak, and concerning the mode of the Incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God, we will perforce declare in few words — not as though we were supplying some deficiency, but as a matter about which there can be no doubt, as we have held from the first, having received it both from the divine Scriptures and from the tradition of the holy Fathers,—we will declare, I say, in few words, making no addition whatever to the faith put forth by the holy Fathers at Nicæa. For that Faith, as we have already said, suffices both for all knowledge of godliness and for the denunciation of all heretical heterodoxy. And we will make the declaration, not rashly venturing to intrude upon what is beyond our reach, but, while acknowledging our own weakness, barring the way against those who would fain dictate to us, where we are dealing with matters too high for man.

"We confess, therefore, our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, perfect God and perfect Man, consisting of a rational soul and a body, begotten of the Father before the worlds as touching His Godhead, the same, in the last days, for us and for our salvation, born of the Virgin Mary, as touching His Manhood: the same of one substance with the Father as touching

His Godhead, and of one substance with us as touching His Manhood. For of two natures there hath been made a union. For which cause we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord.

"In accordance with this sense of the unconfused union, we confess the holy Virgin to be 'the Mother of God' (Θεοτόκος), because God the Word became incarnate and was made man, and from the very conception united to Himself the temple that was received from her. And as to the expressions concerning the Lord in the Gospels and Epistles, we are aware that divines understand some as common, as relating to one Person, and others they distinguish, as relating to two natures, explaining those that befit the divine nature according to the Godhead of Christ, and those of a humble sort according to His Manhood."

Having been made acquainted then with these sacred words of yours, and finding that we ourselves are of the same mind, for there is "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," we gave thanks to God, the Saviour of the world, rejoicing with one another that our Churches, both ours and yours, hold a faith in accordance with the divinely inspired Scriptures and with the tradition of our holy Fathers.

But when I learnt that some of those who take delight in finding fault were buzzing about like spiteful wasps, and were spitting forth odious speeches against me, as though I said that the holy Body of Christ "was brought down from heaven, and was not of the holy Virgin[b]," I thought it necessary to say a few words

[b] One of the Apollinarian tenets laid to Cyril's charge by Nestorius in his Epistle to Celestine.—*Labbe*, iii. c. 352.

to them about this:—O fools, who know only how to slander, how have ye been mispersuaded to take up this perverse notion, how have ye fallen sick of so great folly? For ye ought, ye ought by all means to be aware that almost the whole of our contention for the faith has grown out of our confident assertion that the holy Virgin is "the Mother of God." But if we affirm that the holy Body of Christ, the Saviour of us all, was from heaven, and was not born of her, how can she be conceived of as the "Mother of God?" For whom in the world did she bear, if it be not true that she bore Emmanuel, according to the flesh? Let them be treated with scorn then, who prate thus about me. For it is no falsehood which the blessed Prophet Isaiah speaks when he says, "Behold the Virgin shall conceive and bring forth a Son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel, which, being interpreted, is God with us." And it is altogether true which the holy Gabriel said to the blessed Virgin, "Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God. And behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and shalt bring forth a Son, and shalt call His name 'Jesus,' for Himself shall save His people from their sins."

But when we say that our Lord Jesus Christ is "from heaven and from above," we say it—not as though His holy flesh was brought down from above and from heaven, but we follow rather the divinely-taught Paul, who cries distinctly: "The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man is from heaven [c]." And we remember moreover the Saviour's words: "No one hath ascended up to heaven but He who came

[c] 1 Cor. xv. 47. Cyril omits ὁ Κύριος.

down from heaven, the Son of Man[d]," notwithstanding that He was born as to the flesh, as I said just now, of the holy Virgin. But forasmuch as He that came down from above and from heaven, God the Word, emptied itself, taking the form of a servant, and was called the Son of Man, remaining still what He was, that is, God,—(for He is unchangeable and unalterable as to His nature)—therefore He is said to have "come down from heaven," being even now conceived of as one with His own flesh, and He is named also "Man from heaven," the same perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, and conceived of as in one Person: for the Lord Jesus Christ is one, although we do not forget the difference of the natures, from which we affirm the ineffable union to have been formed.

But let thy Holiness vouchsafe to stop the mouths of those who say that there was a mixture or confusion or blending of God the Word with the flesh[e], for it is likely that some are spreading the report, that I hold or say this also. But so far am I from holding anything of the sort that I look upon those as mad who at all imagine that "shadow of turning" can befal the divine nature of the Word, and that He is susceptible of change: for He remains what He is always, and hath undergone no alteration. Nor could He ever undergo alteration. Moreover we all acknowledge that the Word of God is naturally impassible, even though, in

[d] John iii. 13. Cyril stops at ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, as though his text did not contain ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, "Who is in heaven."

[e] This is another Apollinarian doctrine charged against Cyril, as though he taught a "conversion of the Godhead into flesh," κράσις, ἢ σύγχυσις, ἢ φυρμός.

His all-wise administration of the mystery, He is seen to attribute to Himself the sufferings which befel His own flesh. Thus also the all-wise Peter says, "Christ then having suffered for us in the flesh," and not in the nature of the ineffable Godhead. For in order that He may be believed the Saviour of the world, He appropriates to Himself, as I said, in view of His incarnation, the sufferings of His own flesh—as did the Prophet before, who said, speaking in his person, "I gave my back to the scourges, and my cheeks to blows, and my face I turned not away from the shame of spitting."

But that we follow everywhere the sentiments of the holy Fathers, and especially those of our blessed and all-renowned Father Athanasius, refusing to vary from them in the least possible degree, let thy Holiness be assured, and let no one else entertain a doubt. I would have set down many passages of theirs, confirming my own words from them, if I had not been afraid of making my letter too long and therefore tedious. And we in no wise suffer any to unsettle the faith (the Symbol of the faith I mean) defined by our holy Fathers assembled sometime at Nicæa. Nor assuredly do we suffer ourselves or others either to alter a phrase of what is contained therein, or to go beyond a single syllable, remembering who saith, "Remove not the eternal (*αἰώνια*) land-marks which thy Fathers set." For it was not they who spake, but the very Spirit of God the Father, who proceedeth indeed from Him (*ἐξ αὐτοῦ*), but is not alien from the Son (*οὐκ ἀλλότριον τοῦ Υἱοῦ*) in respect of essence. And in this the words of the holy teachers confirm us. For in the Acts of the

Apostles it is written: "When they had gone throughout Mysia they essayed to go into Bithynia, and the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not[f]." The blessed Paul, too, writes in his Epistle: "They that are in the flesh cannot please God. And you are not in the flesh but in the spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. But if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His."

But when any of those who are wont to pervert the right wrest my words to what they please, let not thy Holiness marvel, as thou knowest that heretics also of every sort collect arguments in support of their error from the divine Scripture, corrupting by their own evil-mindedness what hath been rightly spoken by the Holy Ghost, and drawing down in full measure upon their own heads the unquenchable flame.

But since we have learnt that some have published a garbled edition of our all-renowned Father Athanasius's orthodox Epistle to the blessed Epictetus[g], so that many are being injured by it, therefore with a view to what may be useful and necessary to the brethren, we send your Holiness a transcript taken from ancient and correct copies which we have here.

The Lord preserve thee in good health, and interceding for us, most honoured brother.

[f] πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ (Acts xvi. 7). This appears to be the true reading.

Note the bearing on the procession from the Son, which Cyril seems here to be intimating.

[g] Bp. of Corinth. See the Epistle against Apollinarianism in *Epiphanius Hæres.* 77, pp. 997, &c. Cave assigns it to the year 371.

ST. LEO'S EPISTLE TO FLAVIAN:
THE TOME OF ST. LEO.

INTRODUCTION.

THE occasion of the following Epistle was the heresy of Eutyches. Eutyches was the Archimandrite or Abbot of a monastery near Constantinople. He had spent many years of a long life in his monastery, but on the occasion of a large concourse of people going to the Emperor to induce him to espouse the cause of Cyril and the Council of Ephesus against Nestorius, he had left his seclusion and mingled with the crowd. He stood in high repute for sanctity, but he was before long to give name to a heresy, which "produced a longer controversy, more complicated dissensions, and a more disastrous schism than the errors which he so warmly opposed[a]."

Nestorius had been succeeded in the see of Constantinople by Maximianus, Maximianus by Proclus, and Proclus by Flavian, who presided over it when a rumour began to gain currency that Eutyches had vented unsound doctrines, and was in fact reviving the Apollinarian heresy in two of its forms. Flavian would gladly have avoided noticing the report; but, at the instance of Eusebius, bishop of Dorylæum, he

[a] Robertson, Hist., vol. i. p. 418.

reluctantly summoned Eutyches before a synod of bishops, who happened to be present at Constantinople. This was in November, 448. Eutyches at first refused to appear, alleging his resolution not to quit his monastery. But he was reminded that he had already broken that resolution in his zeal against Nestorius. When at length he presented himself he produced a written statement of his belief, which not being received, he declared verbally that he adhered to the Nicene faith, and appealed to the seventh Canon of the Council of Ephesus, which forbade the imposition of any other Creed. He stated that he held "one incarnate nature of God the Word[b]," after the example of Athanasius, Gregory, and other Fathers, rejecting the Formula "of two natures." Two natures indeed he acknowledged before the union, but after the union he acknowledged but one. He did not venture to speculate, he added, on the nature of God the Word, who in these last days became incarnate unchangeably, as He willed and knows, in the womb of the holy Virgin Mary, and was made man not in semblance (*in phantasmate*), but in deed and in truth. He ended by requesting that Leo might be informed of the proceedings, and professed that he would abide in everything by his decision[c].

[b] Μία Θεοῦ Λόγου φύσις σεσαρκωμένη. "Pétau says that there may be three senses of this expression, and that Eutyches had not the penetration to discriminate between the sound and the unsound senses." Robertson, i. p. 421. Petav. Dog., t. iv. l. i. c. 14, §§ 6, 8. See Suicer, Thesaur. v. φύσις.

[c] Eutyches' Letter to Leo, Epist. 21, S. Leonis Opera, Ballerini.

The synod deprived him of his office, and deposed him from the priesthood.

On this he appealed to Leo, complaining of the injustice with which he had been treated, and intreating him to shield one, who had lived in all continence and chastity seventy years, from being expelled from the number of the orthodox in his last days. (Epist. 21.)

The Emperor also wrote to Leo on the subject. But for some considerable time no communication, it would appear, reached Leo from Flavian, for he writes to Flavian on the 18th of February, nearly three months after the synod, expressing surprise that Flavian had not informed him of a matter which so greatly affected the Church's welfare. (Epist. 23.) Flavian, it would seem, *had* written (Epist. 22), but by some accident his letter had not reached its destination when Leo wrote [d].

Some time before the end of March Flavian writes a second letter (Epist. 26), which Leo briefly acknowledges on May 21 (Epist. 27), promising to write more fully by the messenger who had brought Flavian's letter. This promise he fulfils in the Epistle dated June 13, which is contained in the following pages (Epist. 28), the "Tome of St. Leo," as it is called, wherein the doctrine of the Incarnation is stated with a clearness and perspicuity which, irrespectively of the office and position of its author, have made it an authority of the utmost weight on the subject. In the Western Church

[d] This seems the simplest and most natural way of accounting for Leo's complaint that Flavian had not written to him, though he had heard from both Eutyches and the Emperor. Epist. 23; see also Epist. 24 to the Emperor, both of the same date.

it was read during Advent together with the Gospel; and the Council of Rome under Gelasius anathematised all who should reject but a single word of it[e].

Yet though it had a bishop of Rome for its author and great as was the respect with which it was treated eventually, yet Leo's letter was not accepted at Chalcedon without discussion; and when the Council did accept it, they did so not merely out of deference to its writer and the see over which he presided, but expressly on the ground that it was conformable to the Creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople, and to the Epistles of Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria[f].

Two of the letters belonging to the correspondence between Flavian and Leo are subjoined.

[e] Tillemont, xv. 541.

[f] See Labbe, Concil. iv. 368, &c., Evagr. 2. 18. The second Council of Constantinople, referring to the proceedings at Chalcedon, says: "From what has been read, it is plain in what way holy synods are wont to approve of the documents which are submitted to them. For notwithstanding the eminence of the men whose Epistles have been read (Cyril and Leo), yet they did not give their approval to those Epistles without investigation; nor would they have done so unless they had found them in all respects in accordance with the doctrine of the holy Fathers with which they compared them." (Labbe, v. 541.)

Tillemont remarks that Leo must have admired the providential arrangement whereby his Epistle, after having been questioned at the Latrocinium and even at Chalcedon, was at length approved on the ground that it was agreeable to the truth, and *not merely out of deference to the See of Rome.* (xv. 665.)

ST. LEO TO FLAVIAN. (Epist. 23.)

To his dearest brother Flavian, Bishop, Leo, Bishop.

Seeing that the most Christian Emperor, in his zeal for the peace of the Catholic Church, has written to us of the disturbed state of things with you, we marvel, my brother, that you could remain silent, and forbear to send us, at the earliest opportunity, your own account of the matter, so as to free us from uncertainty as to what has taken place.

For we have received a written statement (*libellum*) from Eutyches (Epist. 21), who complains that on the accusation of Bishop Eusebius he has been unjustly excommunicated, when yet he had presented himself before the synod when summoned, and had offered a written statement of his belief, which statement the synod refused to receive, so that he was obliged to post up bills in Constantinople protesting against the injustice which had been done him.

Such being the case, we do not understand as yet with what justice he has been excommunicated. But we desire to hear your account of what has been done, and to have the whole matter laid before us, since we, who would have the decisions of God's priests maturely arrived at, can form no judgment for either side, till we have heard a true statement of all the proceedings.

Wherefore, my brother, inform us fully, by a fit person, what new doctrine contrary to the ancient

faith, hath arisen, which has deserved to be visited with so severe a punishment. For both the Church's moderation and the religious faith of the most pious Emperor bid us be careful of Christian peace, so that dissensions being cut off, the Catholic faith may be preserved inviolate, and those who maintain error being reclaimed, those whose faith has been approved may be fortified by our authority. Nor can any difficulty arise in this instance since the aforesaid Presbyter has professed in his appeal, that he is prepared to amend anything that may be found worthy of blame in him. For in these cases this should especially be aimed at, that both charity should be preserved and truth vindicated without noise and contention. Wherefore, dearly beloved brother, as you see us to be necessarily solicitous in so grave a matter, lose no time in informing us of everything, as you ought to have done before, as fully and distinctly as possible, that we may run no risk of being deceived by party representations, and dissension fostered which ought to be crushed at its first beginning. For we are resolved, with God's help, that the determinations of the venerable Fathers, divinely confirmed, and pertaining to the soundness of the faith, shall not be violated by any man's perverse interpretation.

God preserve thee, dearest brother.

February 18, 449. *The illustrious Asturius and Protogenes Consuls.*

FLAVIAN TO ST. LEO (Epist. 26).

To his most holy and blessed Father and fellow-minister (συλλειτουργῷ) Leo, Flavian greeting in the Lord.

Nothing, as thou knowest, most dear to God, is more precious to priests than godliness and the right dividing of the word of truth. For on these depend all our hope and salvation and the promised rewards. For which reason it behoves us to use every exertion in behalf of the true faith and the doctrines put forth and determined by the Holy Fathers, that they may always and under all circumstances be preserved inviolate.

Seeing, therefore, the orthodox faith at this present time perverted, and the heresy of Apollinaris and Valentinus revived by the Monk Eutyches, it was necessary that we should not overlook it, but should publicly expose the error for the protection of the people. For this man—this Eutyches being secretly infected with heresy, making light of our lenity, hath had the insolence and audacity to broach his own impious opinion, alleging that "Before the Incarnation of Jesus Christ our Saviour there were two natures, the Godhead and the Manhood, but that after the Union there hath become one nature," knowing neither what he saith nor whereof he affirms. For, as your Holiness knows, the union of the two natures which meet together in Christ made no confusion of their properties in the union: but the properties of the two natures continue unimpaired and entire even in the union.

He added also another impiety, alleging that the body of the Lord which was from Mary is not of our substance, or of human mould; though yet he calls it human, not, however, as consubstantial with us or with her who bare Him after the flesh, and this, notwithstanding that the acts of the sacred and œcumenical Council of Ephesus, in an Epistle written to the impious and deposed Nestorius, affirm in express words, "that the natures which coalesced into true unity were diverse, but of both there is one Christ and Son. Not as though the diversity of the natures was done away by the union; but rather the Godhead and manhood, by their ineffable and inconceivable coalescence into unity have made for us the one Lord, Jesus Christ." This is not unknown to thy Holiness, who is well acquainted with the records of what was done at Ephesus, which this same Eutyches making no account of, persuades himself that he shall not incur the punishment prescribed by that holy and œcumenical Council.

Wherefore, when the faith of many of the simpler sort was being perverted by his teaching, having been accused by the most religious bishop Eusebius, and having appeared before the holy synod, and having with his own voice disclosed his belief, we deposed him as alien from the orthodox faith, as the records of all the proceedings in his case will inform your Holiness, which records we have sent together with this our letter.

I think it right, moreover, that you should be told that this same Eutyches, justly and canonically deposed, when he ought to have made amends for the

past by his subsequent conduct, and to have appeased God by sincere repentance and with many tears, and to have soothed our hearts, grieved exceedingly by his fall, with sorrow unfeigned, not only did nothing of the sort, but strove in all possible ways to throw the most holy Church in this place into confusion, by publicly setting forth statements full of insolence and reviling, in addition to which he presented a petition to our most religious and Christian Emperor, filled with false assertions and contumely, striving in all possible ways to throw contempt upon the sacred canons.

These things having thus fallen out, your Holiness's letter was delivered to us by the most admirable Count Pansophius, from which we learnt that this same Eutyches had sent papers to you filled with all manner of deceit and craft, affirming that at the time of the trial he had delivered a protest to us and to the holy synod then sitting, and that he had appealed to your Holiness, though he did nothing of the sort. But in this he deceived himself, father of lies as he is, thinking surreptitiously to gain a hearing from you.

Wherefore, most holy Father, being moved by his audacious conduct, and by the things which have been done and said against us and the most holy Church, exercise thy wonted courage as becomes the priesthood, and regarding the common cause and the condition of the holy Churches as thine own, be pleased to signify in writing thy concurrence in the vote by which he has been canonically deposed. Confirm also the faith of our most religious and Christian Emperor.

For the matter only requires your influence and aid, that by your co-operation the present confusion may be changed to tranquillity and peace. For thus shall the heresy which has risen up and the disturbance consequent upon it be easily put an end to, God working with us, through your sacred letter. Moreover the Council which it is commonly rumoured there is to be, will be prevented, and the most holy Churches everywhere will escape the consequent confusion[g].

I and those with me salute all the brotherhood with thee. Mayest thou be given to us in health and offering up prayers in our behalf, most holy Father, most dear to God[h].

[g] It is curious to notice Flavian's dread of a Council, which he evidently supposes that Leo shares. His apprehension of its consequences were too sadly realized.

[h] There is no date to this Epistle; but from its reference to the rumour of a Council it would seem to have been written some time before the end of March, 449.

ST. LEO'S EPISTLE TO FLAVIAN:

THE TOME OF ST. LEO (Epist. 28).

JUNE 13, 449.

LEO, BISHOP, TO HIS DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER, FLAVIAN, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

HAVING read your letter, dearly beloved Brother, at the tardiness of which we are surprised, and having had the proceedings of the Episcopal Synod explained to us, we now understand the scandal which had arisen among you touching the orthodox faith. What before was obscure is now manifest. And Eutyches, who bore the honoured title of Presbyter, is shewn to be exceedingly foolish and ignorant, so that the prophet's words are applicable to him: "He would not understand that he might do good; he hath devised iniquity upon his bed[1]." For what can be more iniquitous than to be wise towards impiety, and to refuse to yield to those who are wiser and more learned than himself. But men fall into this folly, when, on being prevented by some obscurity from becoming acquainted with the truth, they have recourse, not to the writings of the Prophets, not to the Epistles of the Apostles, not to the authority of the Gospels, but to themselves, and thus become teachers of error because they have not been disciples of truth. For what instruction has he gained from the sacred pages of the New and Old Testament who does not

[1] Psalm xxxvi. 3, 4.

comprehend the first words even of the Creed? The truth which is pronounced, through the whole world, by the voice of those who are about to be regenerated, is not yet taken hold of by the understanding of this aged man.

CHAPTER II.

Not knowing then what he ought to hold concerning the Incarnation of the Word of God, and not caring to have his understanding enlightened by travailing in the wide field of Holy Scripture, he should at least have listened attentively to that common and uniform confession, in which the whole body of the faithful profess that they believe "IN GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, AND IN JESUS CHRIST HIS ONLY SON OUR LORD, WHO WAS BORN OF THE HOLY GHOST AND THE VIRGIN MARY." By which three sentences the devices of almost all heretics are overthrown. For when God is believed to be both Almighty and Father, it follows that the Son is co-eternal with Him, in no respect different from the Father, because He was born God of God, Almighty of Almighty, co-eternal of eternal, not posterior in time, not inferior in power, not dissimilar in glory, not divided in essence. But the same only-begotten, eternal Son of the eternal Father was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary. Which temporal nativity hath made no diminution from, no addition to, that divine and eternal nativity, but hath bestowed itself wholly on the restoration of man who had been deceived, that it might both overcome death, and by

its own virtue destroy the devil who had the power of death. For we could not gain the victory over the author of sin and death unless He had taken our nature and made it His own, whom neither sin could defile nor death hold, having been conceived by the Holy Ghost, in the womb of His Virgin mother, whose Virginity remained entire in His birth, as in His conception.

But if Eutyches was unable from this most pure fountain of Christian faith (the Creed) to draw forth its genuine meaning, seeing that he had wilfully blinded himself to the brightness of transparent truth, he ought to have submitted himself to the teaching of the Gospel. He should have listened to Matthew when he says, "The Book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the Son of David, the Son of Abraham;" he should have sought instruction also from the preaching of the Apostles (the Epistles); he should have read in the Epistle to the Romans, "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an Apostle, separated unto the Gospel of God, which He had promised before by His Prophets, in the Holy Scriptures, concerning His Son, who was made unto Him of the seed of David according to the flesh;" he should have attended also with pious solicitude to the Prophets, and finding the promise of God to Abraham, "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed," lest he should have any doubt as to the proper meaning of this "seed," he should have followed the Apostle, when he says, "To Abraham and to his seed were the promises made. He saith not 'to seeds,' as of many, but as of one, 'to thy seed,' which is Christ." He should have apprehended too,

with his inward ear, Isaiah's words, "Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bring forth a Son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel, which is being interpreted 'God with us.'" He should have read also with an honest mind the words of the same Prophet, "Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given, whose authority is upon His shoulder, and His name shall be called Angel of great Counsel, Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Prince of Peace, Father of the future age." Nor would Scripture have been so inconsistent as to say that the Word was made flesh in such wise, that Christ, born of the Virgin's womb, had the form of man, and yet had not the true nature of His Mother's body. Or did Eutyches therefore possibly suppose that our Lord Jesus Christ was not of our nature, because when the angel was sent to blessed Mary, ever Virgin, he said, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee, therefore also that holy Thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God," so that because He who was conceived by the Virgin was conceived by divine operation, therefore His flesh was not of the nature of her who conceived Him? But we are not so to understand that generation singularly marvellous and marvellously singular, as that by the novelty of the mode of production the distinctive generic character was precluded. For the Holy Spirit gave fecundity to the Virgin, but the verity of the body was received from the body; and when Wisdom built herself a house[1] "The Word was made flesh and dwelt

[1] Prov. ix. 1.

in us," i.e. in that flesh which He took from man, and which He animated with the Spirit of rational life.

CHAPTER III.

The property or distinctive character then of each nature and substance remaining entire, and coalescing into one person, humility was assumed by majesty, by might weakness, by eternity mortality, and in order to pay the debt of our condition an impassible nature was united to a passible one, that, as a remedy suited to our case, one and the same Mediator between God and men, the man Jesus Christ, might be capable of death from the one and incapable from the other. Very God, therefore, was born in the entire and perfect nature of very man, whole in His own nature, whole in ours. Ours I mean which the Creator framed in the beginning, and which He assumed that He might restore: for that which the Deceiver brought in, and man being deceived admitted, had no trace in the Saviour. Nor, because He condescended to share our infirmities, did He therefore partake with us in our sins. He took upon Him the form of a servant without the defilement of sin, augmenting what was human, detracting nothing from what was divine, forasmuch as that emptying of Himself, whereby the Invisible rendered Himself visible, and the Creator and Lord of all things willed to be a mortal, was a stooping down of compassion, not a defect of power. Accordingly He who remaining in the form of God made man, the same in the form of a servant was made

man. For each nature retains its own property without defect, and as the form of God does not take away the form of a servant, so the form of a servant makes no diminution of the form of God. For, forasmuch as the devil gloried that man, deceived by his fraud had been deprived of divine gifts, and, stript of the dower of immortality, had incurred the stern sentence of death, and that himself, in his own evil case had found a sort of consolation in the companionship of the transgressor, that God, moreover, justice requiring, had changed his own sentence in respect of man, whom He had created in so great honour, there was need of a dispensation of secret counsel, that the unchangeable God, whose will cannot be deprived of its own benevolence, should accomplish the original intention of His goodness towards us, by a more recondite mystery, and that man driven into sin by the wicked craft of the devil, should not perish contrary to God's purpose.

CHAPTER IV.

The Son of God, therefore, coming down from His heavenly throne, and yet not departing from the glory of His Father, enters this lower world, born after a new order, by a new mode of birth: born after a new order, forasmuch as, invisible in His own nature, He became visible in ours, incomprehensible He willed to be comprehended, being ever before time, He began to be in time, the Lord of the Universe He took upon Him the form of a servant, throwing a veil over His infinite majesty, God impassible, He did not disdain to be-

come passible man, immortal, to be subject to the laws of death: born by a new mode of birth, forasmuch as virginity inviolate which knew not concupiscence ministered the substance of flesh. From the mother of the Lord was received nature, not sin: nor in the Lord Jesus Christ, born of a Virgin's womb, because the birth is marvellous, is the nature therefore dissimilar to ours, for He who is very God is also very man. Nor is there any unreality in this unity, while there is on the one hand the humility of man, on the other the majesty of Godhead. For as the God is not changed by compassion, so the man is not consumed by dignity. For each nature in union with the other performs the actions which are proper to it. The Word those which are proper to the Word, the flesh those which are proper to the flesh. The one is resplendent with miracles, the other succumbs to injuries. And as the Word recedes not from equality with the Father's glory, so the flesh parts not with the nature of our race. For (and it must be said again and again), one and the same person is truly the Son of God, and truly the Son of man: —God, for "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,"—man, for "the Word was made flesh and dwelt in us;" God, for "all things were made by Him, and without Him was not any thing made,"—man, for "He was made of a woman, made under the law." The nativity of the flesh is a manifestation of human nature, the birth of a virgin a token of divine power. The infancy of the little Child is exhibited in the lowliness of swaddling clothes, the majesty of the most High is declared by the voices of angels. He whom wicked Herod seeks to kill

is like a human infant; but He whom the Magi rejoice suppliantly to adore is Lord of all. When He came to the baptism of John His forerunner, lest the Godhead which was covered by the veil of flesh should be concealed, the Father's voice thundered from heaven, "This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." He whom as man the devil tempts with his subtlety, the same, as God, is ministered to by angels. To hunger, to thirst, to be weary, to sleep, is manifestly human; but with five loaves to satisfy five thousand men, and to bestow on the Samaritan woman that living water, which whosoever drinks shall never thirst, to walk upon the surface of the sea without sinking, and to rebuke the tempest, and lay the surging waves, is without question divine.

As, therefore, to be brief, it belongs not to the same nature to weep with pity for a dead friend, and with a command to raise the same restored to life, on the removal of the stone which covered the grave wherein he had lain four days; or to hang upon the cross, and, changing light into darkness, to make all the elements tremble; or to be pierced with nails, and to open the gates of Paradise to the believing malefactor,—so it does not belong to the same nature to say, "I and My Father are one," and to say, "The Father is greater than I." For although in the Lord Jesus Christ there is one Person of God and Man, that from which there is in both a common contumely is one, that from which a common glory another. From ours He has the human nature inferior to the Father, from the Father the Divine nature equal to the Father.

CHAPTER V.

On account, therefore, of this unity of Person to be understood in both natures, both the Son of man is said to have descended from heaven, when the Son of God took flesh of His Virgin Mother, and again the Son of God is said to have been crucified and buried, when He suffered these things, not in the Divine nature in which He is the only-begotten of the Father, co-eternal and consubstantial with Him, but in the weakness of human nature. Whence also we all confess in the Creed that "THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD WAS CRUCIFIED AND BURIED," according to the saying of the Apostle, "For if they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory[k]."

But when our Lord and Saviour was instructing the faith of His disciples by questioning them, "Who," says He, "do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" and when they had related diverse opinions of others, but "ye," says He, "who do ye say that I am?"—I who am a son of man, and whom ye see in the form of a servant, and in the verity of flesh—"who do ye say that I am?" On which blessed Peter, divinely inspired, and by his confession about to confer a benefit on all nations, answers, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." Deservedly, therefore, was he pronounced "blessed" by the Lord, and from the archetypal rock[l] drew the solidity both of his virtue and of his name, who by the revelation of the Father

[k] 1 Cor. ii. 8.

[l] A principali petra, ἀπὸ τῆς πρωτοτύπου πέτρας. Leo then understood the "rock" of our Lord, not of Peter.

confessed the same Person both the Son of God and the Christ, seeing that one of these received without the other availed not for salvation; and it was equally perilous to believe the Lord Jesus Christ either God only and not man also, or man only and not God also. But after the resurrection of the Lord (which assuredly was that of a true body, because no other was raised but the Person who had been crucified and dead) what else was done in the forty days' interval than to cleanse the soundness of our faith from all obscurity. For conversing with His disciples, and abiding with them, eating with them, and permitting those who doubted to touch Him with careful and curious touch, He both entered in to the disciples, the doors being shut, and breathing on them gave them the Holy Spirit, and enlightening their understanding, opened to them the Holy Scriptures, and again—still the same, He shewed the wound in His side, the prints of the nails, and all the tokens of His recent passion, saying, "Behold My hands and My feet, that it is I Myself. Handle Me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see Me have," that the properties of both natures, the Divine and the human, might be recognised in Him continuing inseparable, and that while we understand that the Word is not the same as the flesh, we may confess one Son of God both Word and flesh.

Of which mystery of the faith this Eutyches must be regarded as plainly void, who acknowledges our nature in the only-begotten Son of God, neither through the humility of His mortality, nor through the glory of his resurrection, having no fear of the

sentence of the blessed Apostle and Evangelist John, who says, "Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit which disuniteth Jesus is not of God: and this is antichrist[m]." What indeed is to "disunite Jesus" but to separate His human nature from Him, and to make void the mystery, by which alone we have been saved, by most impudent figments?

But being blinded concerning the nature of Christ's body, he must needs be blinded with the same blindness in the matter of His passion. For if he does not esteem the Lord's cross to be unreal, and does not doubt the truth of the punishment which was undergone for the salvation of the world, let him acknowledge the flesh of Him whose death he believes; and let him not deny Him to have been man with a body such as ours, whom he knows to have been passible; since the denial of very flesh is the denial also of bodily suffering. If, therefore, he holds the Christian faith, and does not turn a deaf ear to the preaching of the Gospel, let him consider what nature it was that was pierced with nails and hanged upon the cross, and let him understand whence it was, that when the side of the crucified was pierced by the soldier's spear, blood and water issued, that the Church of God might be bedewed both with the Laver and with the Cup.

Let him listen also to the blessed Apostle Peter proclaiming that the sanctification of the Spirit is

[m] 1 John iv. 3. Qui solvit Jesum. Socrates says that ὁ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν was the reading of the ancient copies (7. 32); but it has no countenance from any known Greek MS. The Vulgate has "Qui solvit Jesum Christum."

effected by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ[n]. And let him read attentively the same Apostle's words, "Knowing that ye were redeemed, not with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers, but with the precious blood of Jesus Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot[o]." And let him not resist the testimony of the Apostle John, "The blood of Jesus, the Son of God, cleanseth us from all sin[p];" and again, "This is the victory which overcometh the World, even our Faith." "Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God? This is He that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit which beareth witness, for the Spirit is truth. For there are three which bear witness, the Spirit, the water, and the blood, and these three are one," the Spirit, that is, of sanctification, and the blood of redemption, and the water of baptism, which three are one, and continue inseparable, and no one of them is severed from its connexion with the others: because by this faith the Catholic Church lives, by this makes increase, that in Christ Jesus, neither the manhood is believed without very Godhead, nor the Godhead without very manhood.

CHAPTER VI.

But when on being questioned in your examination Eutyches replied, "I acknowledge that our Lord was

[n] 1 Pet. i. 2. [o] 1 Pet. i. 13. [p] 1 John i. 7.

of two natures before the union, but after the union I confess one nature," I marvel that his so absurd and so perverse profession met with no rebuke from the judges, and that a sentence so extremely foolish and so extremely blasphemous was suffered to pass without notice, as though nothing offensive had been heard; seeing that the assertion that the only-begotten Son of God was of two natures before the Incarnation, was as impious, as the assertion was wicked, that after "the Word was made flesh," there was in Him but one nature. Which saying lest Eutyches should regard it as right or tolerable, seeing that it met with no confutation on your part, we advise thee, dearly beloved brother, to take care that if by God's merciful inspiration, the matter is brought to a satisfactory conclusion, the folly of the ignorant man may be purged also from this pestilent sense of his. Who indeed as the record of the proceedings shews, had made a good beginning in renouncing his persuasion, when, constrained by your sentence, he made profession of saying what before he had not said, and acquiesced in that faith to which formerly he was a stranger. But when he would not consent to anathematise the impious dogma, you understood, brother, that he continued still in his misbelief, and deserved to be condemned. For which if he grieves sincerely and to good purpose, and acknowledges, though late, how properly the Episcopal authority has been put in motion, or if, for complete satisfaction, he shall condemn *viva voce*, and by actual subscription all that he has held amiss, no lenity towards him, now corrected, how great soever, will be blameworthy. For

our Lord, the true and good Shepherd, "who laid down His life for His sheep," and who came to save men's souls, not to destroy, would have us to imitate His clemency, that those who sin justice should restrain, but those who repent mercy should not repel. For then is the true faith most effectually defended, when a false opinion is condemned also by its upholders.

But for the carrying out of the whole matter piously and faithfully we have appointed our brothers, Julius, bishop, and Renatus, presbyter, of the Titular Church of St. Clement [p], and, moreover, my son Hilary, deacon, as our representatives; with whom we have associated Dulcitius our notary, of whose fidelity we have had proof, confidently trusting that God will be present with His assistance, so that he who had erred, his mischievous opinion having been condemned, may be saved. God preserve thee, dearly beloved brother.

The Ides of June (*June* 13, 449), *the very eminent Asturius and Protogenes Consuls.*

[p] There is some doubt as to the meaning of "Titulus" in this connection; Bingham (Antiq. 8. 1. 10) adopts a suggestion of Mede's, "that the Titular Churches were Churches which gave a 'title' of Cure or denomination to the presbyters to whom they were committed." Pope Marcellus (A.D. 304—309) is said to have appointed twenty-five of these Churches in Rome.

THE DEFINITION OF FAITH

SET FORTH BY

THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON.

A.D. 451.

THE following document, which had been read aloud in the 5th Session of the Council of Chalcedon, was subscribed by the Bishops present in the 6th.

While it embodies the Creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople, representing the latter as an enlargement of the former made with an eye to the heresies of Apollinaris and Macedonius which had sprung up subsequently, it sets forth the doctrine of the Incarnation with greater precision than had yet been done in any authoritative document, — a precision rendered necessary by the more recent heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. Having regard to these, it sets its seal upon St. Cyril's second Epistle to Nestorius, his Epistle to John of Antioch, described as the Epistle to the Orientals, and Leo's Epistle to Flavian, all of which had been read in full before the Council and accepted.

THE DEFINITION OF FAITH.

THE HOLY, GREAT, AND ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL, by the grace of God and the decree of our most pious and Christian (Christ-loving) Emperors, Marcian and Valentinian, Augusti, assembled at the Metropolis of Chalcedon, in the province of Bithynia, in the martyr-chapel of the holy and gloriously triumphant Euphemia[a], decree as follows :—

Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, confirming His disciples in the knowledge of the faith, said, "My peace I leave with you; My peace I give unto you," to the intent that no one should vary from his neighbour in the doctrines of religion, but that the truth should be uniformly set forth to all. But seeing that the Evil One does not cease from choking with his own tares the seeds of true religion, and is ever and anon devising some new device against the truth, therefore the Sovereign Lord (ὁ Δεσπότης) taking thought for mankind, as is His wont, stirred up the zeal of this pious and most faithful Emperor (Marcian), and called together to Himself the prelates of the Church from all parts, to the intent that He might drive away, by the effectual working of the grace of Christ, our common Sovereign, every pest of falsehood from the sheep of Christ, and nurture them and make them fat with the fresh shoots of the truth.

This then we have done, having, by a common sentence, driven away the doctrines of error, and

[a] See Evagrius's account of the chapel and its situation, ii. 3.

having renewed the unerring faith of the Fathers, proclaiming to all the Symbol (σύμβολον) of the 318, and acknowledging, as of the same household, the Fathers who received this godly document (σύνθεμα), the 150, namely, who afterwards met together in great Constantinople and set their seal to the same faith.

We decree, therefore, (ourselves also adhering to the order and all the formulæ (τύπους) of the faith of the holy Council formerly held at Ephesus, under the presidency of Celestine, bishop of Rome, and Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, of most holy memory), that the exposition (ἔκθεσις) of the orthodox and irreproachable faith set forth by the 318 holy and blessed Fathers who met at Nicæa, in the time of the Emperor Constantine of pious memory, retain its place of honour, and also that the determination of the 150 holy Fathers at Constantinople, for the taking away of the heresies then recently sprung up, and for the confirmation of the same our Catholic and Apostolic faith, continue still in force.

The Symbol of the 318 at Nicæa.

1. We believe in one God the Father Almighty,
   Maker of all things visible and invisible;
2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God,
   begotten of the Father, only-begotten,
   that is, of the substance of the Father,
   God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God,
   Begotten, not made,
   of one substance with the Father,
   by Whom all things were made,

3. Who for us men and for our salvation came down
   from heaven,
   and became incarnate
   of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,
   and was made man,
4. And was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate,
   And suffered and was buried,
5. And rose again the third day according to the
   Scriptures,
6. And ascended into heaven,
   And sitteth on the right hand of the Father,
7. And shall come again with glory,
   to judge the quick and the dead,
   Whose kingdom shall have no end;
8. And in the Holy Ghost,
   the Lord, the Giver of Life [b].

But those who say, There was when the Son of God was not, and Before He was begotten He was

[b] This text, after the first and second articles, varies in several instances from that of the Original Nicene Creed, as it had been recited in the second Session of the Council, where Articles 3—8 stand thus:—

3. Who for us men and for our salvation came down,
   and became incarnate,
   and was made man,
4.
   suffered,
5. And rose again the third day,
6. Ascended into heaven,
7. And shall come again
   To judge the quick and the dead;
8. And in the Holy Ghost.—*Labbe*, iv. 339.

See also the Creed, as quoted by St. Cyril, above, p. 164.

not, and that He came into being from things that are not, or that He is of another substance or essence, or that He is mutable or alterable—the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.

The holy Symbol of the 150 Fathers assembled at Constantinople.

1. We believe in one God the Father Almighty,
   Maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible;
2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ,
   The only-begotten Son of God,
   begotten of the Father before all worlds,
   Light of Light, Very God of very God, begotten, not made,
   of one substance with the Father,
   by Whom all things were made,
3. Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven,
   and became incarnate
   of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,
   and was made man,
4. And was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate,
   and suffered, and was buried,
5. And rose again the third day according to the Scriptures,
6. And ascended into heaven,
   and sitteth on the right hand of the Father,
7. And shall come again with glory
   to judge both the quick and the dead,
   Whose kingdom shall have no end;

8. And in the Holy Ghost,
   The Lord and Giver of life,
   Who proceedeth from the Father,
   Who with the Father and the Son is jointly worshipped and jointly glorified,
   Who spake by the Prophets;
9. In one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church;
10. We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins,
11. We look for the resurrection of the flesh,
12. And the life of the world to come. Amen.

This wise and salutary Symbol then of the divine grace suffices for the perfect acknowledgment and confirmation of godliness; for concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, its teaching is complete, and to those who accept it honestly it sets forth in addition the Incarnation of the Lord.

But forasmuch as they who, taking in hand to set aside the preaching of the truth by heresies of their own, have uttered forth vain babblings, some daring to pervert the mystery of the dispensation (οἰκονομία), which for our sakes the Lord undertook, and denying the propriety of the name Mother of God (Θεοτόκος), as applied to the Virgin, and others bringing in a confusion and blending of natures, and fondly feigning that there is but one nature of the flesh and Godhead, and by this confusion teaching the monstrous doctrine that the divine nature of the only-begotten is passible,—for this reason, the holy, great, Œcumenical Council now present, being desirous of precluding every device of theirs against the truth, teaching in its fulness the doctrine

which from the beginning has remained unshaken, hath decreed, in the first place, that the Creed (*πίστις*) of the 318 Fathers remain untouched; and on account of those who impugn the Holy Spirit, it ratifies and confirms the doctrine delivered subsequently, concerning the essence of the Spirit, by the 150 holy Fathers, who were assembled in the imperial city, which they promulgated for universal acceptance, not as though they were supplying some omission of their predecessors, but distinctly declaring by written testimony their own minds concerning the Holy Spirit, against those who were endeavouring to set aside His Sovereignty (*Δεσποτεία*); and on account of those who would fain pervert the mystery of the Incarnation, (*οἰκονομία*, the dispensation by which He became incarnate), shamelessly and senselessly affirming that He who was born of the holy Virgin Mary was a mere man, it hath accepted the Synodical Epistles of the blessed Cyril, pastor of the Church of Alexandria, to Nestorius and to the Orientals, in keeping with those Creeds, for the confutation of the Nestorian folly, and for the explication of the salutary Symbol to those who, out of their godly zeal, desire the true understanding thereof: to which also it has suitably joined, for the confirmation of the orthodox faith, the Epistle of the Ruler of the greatest and elder Rome, the most blessed and most holy Archbishop Leo, written to the sainted Archbishop Flavian, for the overthrow of the impiety of Eutyches, inasmuch as it agrees with the confession of the great Peter, and is a common monument erected against heretics; for it confutes those who presume to rend asunder the mystery of the Incarnation into a double

Sonship, and it deposes from the priesthood those who dare to say that the Godhead of the Only-begotten is passible; and it withstands those who imagine a mixture or confusion of the two natures of Christ; and it drives away those who fondly teach that the form of a servant which He took from us was of a heavenly or some other substance; and it anathematizes those who feign that the Lord had two natures before the union, but that these were moulded into one after the union.

Wherefore, after the example of the holy Fathers, we all with one voice confess our Lord Jesus Christ one and the same Son, the same perfect in Godhead, the same perfect in manhood, very God and very man, the same consisting of a reasonable soul and a body, of one substance with the Father as touching the Godhead, the same of one substance with us as touching the manhood, like us in all things, sin except; begotten of the Father before the worlds as touching the Godhead, the same in these last days, for us and for our salvation, born of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, as touching the manhood, one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, to be acknowledged of two natures[c], without confusion, without conversion, without division, never to be separated, (*ἀσυγχύτως ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως*); the distinction of natures being in no wise done away because of the union, but rather the characteristic property of each nature being preserved, and concurring into one Person and one subsistence, not as if Christ were parted or divided into

[c] The Greek has "*of* two natures," but the old Latin version and Evagrius (ii. 4) have "*in* two natures," which is probably the true text.

two Persons, but one and the same Son and Only-begotten God, Word, Lord, Jesus Christ; even as the Prophets from the beginning spake concerning Him, and our Lord Jesus Christ hath instructed us, and the Symbol of the Fathers hath handed down to us.

These things, therefore, having been formulated by us with all possible care and exactness, the holy Œcumenical Council decrees, that it shall be unlawful for any one to produce another faith (πίστις), whether by writing, or composing, or holding, or teaching others. And those who presume either to frame another faith (πίστις), or to publish, or teach, or deliver another Symbol (σύμβολον) to those who desire to turn to the acknowledgment of the truth from heathenism, or Judaism, or from any heresy whatsoever, these—if they are bishops or clergymen,—the bishops to be deposed from the episcopate, and the clergymen from the clerical office: but if they are monks or laymen, to be anathematized.

FORTUNATUS'S EXPOSITION OF THE CONFESSION OF OUR CHRISTIAN FAITH

COMMONLY CALLED

THE CREED OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

The following Commentary on the Athanasian Creed is ascribed by Waterland, after Muratori, to Venantius Fortunatus, who was bishop of Poictiers in the latter half of the sixth century, on no better authority than that a manuscript copy of it is found in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, bound up in the same volume with a manuscript copy of a Commentary on the Apostles' Creed, of which Venantius Fortunatus was the author. There are but eight MSS. known which contain the Exposition, and of these at least five are without an author's name. Of the two remaining ones I have no knowledge. In this uncertainty I have continued the name of "Fortunatus," with which Waterland has made us familiar, but have omitted the prefix "Venantius."

The earliest known MS. of the work is in all probability the one in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, catalogued Junius 25. It has been assigned to the ninth century. But the work itself bears strong internal evidence of having been composed some time, possibly some considerable time, before that date.

Of the history of the Creed itself nothing certain is

known. The name of Athanasius points to its subject matter—the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, of which Athanasius was the great champion—not to its author. Its date can only be approximately arrived at. But the testimony of a MS. in the National Library, at Paris, in which it is found, carries us back with great probability to the middle of the seventh century, when we meet with a brief running paraphrase of the latter half of the Creed, the said paraphrase implying the still earlier existence of the Creed itself. Waterland produces internal considerations which suggest a much earlier date.

There can be little doubt that the country to which it owed its birth was Gaul, and still less that its original language was Latin. It has been ascribed to various authors; Waterland suggests Hilary, bishop of Arles; but where there is so much uncertainty even as to the date it is idle to guess who was the author.

THE CONFESSION OF OUR CHRISTIAN FAITH,

COMMONLY CALLED

THE CREED OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

The following Text and Version of the Creed are those of the Book of Common Prayer.

The words within brackets ( ) represent either alternative renderings, or the Text as it stands in Fortunatus's Exposition.

The parts in italics are not referred to in the Exposition.

1. Whosoever will be (would be) saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith.

2. *Which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly (eternally)* [a].

Part I. vv. 3—26. The doctrine of the Trinity, being an Enlargement of Arts. I., II., VIII., of the Apostles' Creed.

3. *And (Now) the Catholic Faith is this:* That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity,

4. Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing (separating) the substance.

[a] I have kept throughout one uniform translation of "eternus," the Prayer-Book version using sometimes "eternal," sometimes "everlasting."

5. For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost.

6. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one, the glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal.

7. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost:

8. The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the Holy Ghost uncreate;

9. The Father incomprehensible (infinite), the Son incomprehensible (infinite), and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible (infinite).

10. The Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Ghost eternal.

11. And yet they are not three eternals, but one eternal.

12. *As also there are not three incomprehensibles (infinites), nor three uncreated, but one uncreated and one incomprehensible (infinite).*

13. So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty.

14. *And yet they are not three Almighties, but one Almighty.*

15. So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God.

16. *And yet they are not three Gods, but one God.*

17. So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, and the Holy Ghost Lord.

18. *And yet not three Lords, but one Lord.*

19. For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity to acknowledge every Person by Himself (severally) to be God and Lord, so are we forbidden by the

Catholic Religion to say, There be three Gods or three Lords.

20. *The Father is made of none, neither created, nor begotten.*

21. *The Son is of the Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten.*

22. *The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son, neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.*

23. So there is one Father, not three Fathers, one Son, not three Sons, one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

24. And in this Trinity none is afore or after other (there is no afore or after), none is greater or less than another (there is no greater or less): *but the whole (all the) three Persons are co-eternal together and co-equal.*

25. *So that in all things, as is aforesaid, (as was said above, v. 3), the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped.*

26. *He therefore that will be (would be) saved must thus think of the Trinity.*

PART II. vv. 27—35. THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION. ENLARGEMENT OF ART. III. OF THE APOSTLES' CREED.

27. *Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting (eternal) salvation that he also believe rightly (faithfully) the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

28. For the right faith is that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man (alike one as the other).

29. God of the Substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds: and Man of the Substance of His Mother, born in the world.

30. Perfect God and perfect Man, of a reasonable (rational) soul and human flesh subsisting.

31. Equal to the Father as touching His Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching His Manhood.

32. Who although He be God and Man, yet He is not two but one Christ.

33. One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh (in the flesh), but by taking of the Manhood into God (in God). *See p.* 230, *below.*

34. One altogether (One and but one), not by confusion of Substance, but by unity of Person.

35. For as the reasonable (rational) soul and flesh is one Man, so God and Man is one Christ.

PART III. vv. 36—41. ARTS. IV., V., VI., VII., XI., XII., OF THE APOSTLES' CREED.

36. Who suffered for our salvation,

37. Descended into Hell,
Rose again *the third day* from the dead,

38. He ascended into Heaven,
He sitteth at the right hand of the Father *God Almighty,*

39. From whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead,

40. At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies, and shall give account of their own works,

41. And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting (eternal), and they that have done evil into everlasting (eternal) fire.

42. This is the Catholic Faith, which except a man believe faithfully (and firmly) he cannot be saved.

FORTUNATUS'S EXPOSITION OF THE CONFESSION OF OUR CHRISTIAN FAITH,

COMMONLY CALLED

THE CREED OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

WHOSOEVER WOULD BE SAVED, BEFORE ALL THINGS IT IS NECESSARY THAT HE HOLD THE CATHOLIC FAITH.

Faith means belief (*Credulitas sive credentia*). Catholic signifies universal, that is, right (orthodox), that which the Church universal ought to hold. By Church is meant a congregation of Christians, or an assembly of peoples.

THAT WE VENERATE AND BELIEVE AND WORSHIP AND CONFESS ONE GOD IN TRINITY AND TRINITY IN UNITY.

NEITHER CONFOUNDING THE PERSONS, as Sabellius errs, who says that the Father is the same in Person as the Son, the same as the Holy Ghost. Not therefore confounding the Persons, because there are three Persons, and but three. For there is the Person who begets, the Person who is begotten, the Person who proceeds. The Father is the Person Who begets, Who begat the Son; The Son is the Person Who is begotten, Whom the Father begat; The Holy Ghost is the Person Who proceeds, because He proceeds from the Father and the Son. The Father and the Son are co-eternal and co-equal and co-operative with each other, as it is written, "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens

made," that is, they were created by the Son of God; "the Spirit of His mouth, all the virtue of them," where, under the singular number "*His* Spirit" (the Spirit of *His* mouth) is shewn the unity of the substance of the Godhead; under the plural number, "all the virtue of *Them*," the Trinity of Persons is plainly set forth, because Three are One, and One Three.

"NOR SEPARATING THE SUBSTANCE," as Arius vainly talks, who, as he says, that there are three Persons, so also he lies in affirming that there are three Substances. He says that the Son is less than the Father and a creature; he asserts that the Holy Spirit is still less than the Son and a minister to the Father and the Son. Not, therefore, "separating the Substances," because all the three Persons are one in the Substance of the Godhead.

"FOR THERE IS ONE PERSON OF THE FATHER:" because the Father is unbegotten, being begotten of none; "ANOTHER PERSON OF THE SON," because the Son is begotten of the Father alone; "ANOTHER OF THE HOLY GHOST," because the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son.

"BUT THE DIVINITY, that is, THE GODHEAD OF THE FATHER AND OF THE SON AND OF THE HOLY GHOST IS ONE, THE GLORY," that is, the excellency, "EQUAL, THE MAJESTY CO-ETERNAL." Majesty means glory, excellency, dominion.

"SUCH AS THE FATHER IS, SUCH IS THE SON, SUCH ALSO IS THE HOLY GHOST," such, that is, in Godhead and Almightiness.

"THE FATHER UNCREATE, THE SON UNCREATE, AND THE HOLY GHOST UNCREATE," that is, created by none.

"THE FATHER INFINITE (*immensus*), THE SON INFINITE, THE HOLY GHOST INFINITE." He is incapable of limitation in His own nature, because He is independent of place and uncircumscribed, everywhere whole, everywhere present, everywhere potent.

"THE FATHER ETERNAL, THE SON ETERNAL, AND THE HOLY GHOST ETERNAL," that is, NOT THREE ETERNALS, BUT in three Persons ONE GOD ETERNAL, who continues eternal, without beginning and without end.

"SO LIKEWISE THE FATHER IS ALMIGHTY, THE SON ALMIGHTY, AND THE HOLY GHOST ALMIGHTY." He is called "Almighty" because He can do all things, and has power over all things. Therefore, if He can do all things, what is there that He cannot do? He cannot do that which is incompatible with omnipotence. He cannot be deceived, because He is Truth; He cannot be made weak, because He is the perfection of soundness; He cannot die, because He is immortal life; He cannot be brought to an end, because He is infinite and ever-enduring.

"SO THE FATHER IS GOD, AND THE SON GOD, AND THE HOLY GHOST GOD." God is a name having a substantive power or meaning of its own, not a name indicative of a property or characteristic (*Nomen est potestatis non proprietatis*). The proper or distinctive name of the Father is Father, and the proper or distinctive name of the Son is Son, and the proper or distinctive name of the Holy Ghost is Holy Ghost.

"SO THE FATHER IS LORD, THE SON LORD, AND THE HOLY GHOST LORD." He is called Lord (*Dominus*), because He has dominion over all, is supreme over all.

FOR LIKE AS WE ARE COMPELLED BY THE CHRISTIAN

VERITY TO ACKNOWLEDGE EVERY PERSON SINGLY (that is, severally and distinct from the others), BOTH GOD AND LORD." For if you ask me, What is the Father? I shall reply, "God and Lord;" so likewise if you ask, What is the Son? I shall say, "God and Lord;" and if you ask, What is the Holy Ghost? I answer, "God and Lord." And in these three Persons I acknowledge not three Gods, or three Lords, but as I said before, one God and one Lord.

"THERE IS THEN ONE FATHER, NOT THREE FATHERS," that is, the Person who is the Father is always the Father, and not sometimes the Son. "ONE SON, NOT THREE SONS," that is, the Person who is the Son is always the Son, and not sometimes the Father. "ONE HOLY GHOST, NOT THREE HOLY GHOSTS," that is, the Person who is the Holy Ghost is always the Holy Ghost, and not sometimes the Son or the Father. This is the propriety or distinctive characteristic of the Persons.

AND IN THIS TRINITY THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS BEFORE OR AFTER. Because as the Son never was without the Father, so the Father never was without the Son, and the Father and the Son never were without the Holy Ghost. The Trinity, therefore, is co-eternal, and the Unity inseparable, without beginning and without end.

"NO SUCH THING AS GREATER OR LESS," which signifies the equality of the Persons, because the Trinity is equal and the Godhead one. The Apostle saith, "By the things that are made, the things that are cognizable only by the mind (*intellecta*) are clearly seen," and by the creature the Creator is understood,

as is shewn by the following illustrations and a great many others like them. The sun, sheen, and heat, are three names and one thing. That which shines the same is hot, and that which is hot the same shines. These three words, though distinct, are one thing. So the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, three Persons in the Trinity, are one in substance, and the unity is rightly believed inseparable. So likewise in things of the earth, a spring, a fountain, a river are three words, and the three are one in their nature. So the Godhead of the three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is one Substance.

"So then the right faith is that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is Man also." Jesus in Hebrew is the same as *Salvator* (Saviour) in Latin. *Christus* in Greek answers to *Unctus* (anointed) in Latin. He is called Jesus, therefore, because He saves His people, Christ, because He is anointed with the Holy Spirit, as Isaiah, speaking in the Person of Christ Himself, says, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He hath anointed Me," &c. So also the Psalm, "God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows."

"The Son of God is God and Man equally." *Filius* (Son) is so called from the felicity of parents; *Homo* (Man) from *humus* (the ground), because He was made of the ground.

"God of the substance of the Father begotten before the world (the ages, *sæcula*), that is, God of God, Light of Light, Brightness of Brightness, Mighty of Mighty, Virtue of Virtue, Life of Life, Eternity of

Eternity: in all respects, what the Father is in divine substance, the same is the Son. God the Father begat God the Son, not of will, nor of necessity, but of nature. Seek not how the Son was begotten; that the Angels know not, the Prophets knew not: whence the eminent Prophet Isaiah saith, "Who hath declared His generation?" as though he said, "No Angel, no Prophet." Nor is the ineffable and inestimable God to be made a subject of discussion by His petty servants, but to be faithfully believed and to be loved as well.

"And Man of the substance of His mother born in the world" (in "the age," *in sæculo*). The Son of God, the Word of the Father, was made flesh. Not that the Divinity changed the Godhead, but that It assumed manhood, that is, the Word was made flesh. From the womb of the Virgin It drew true human flesh. And from the womb of the Virgin very Man, as also very God, was born in the world (*in sæculo*, in the age), the virgin-state remaining still entire, inasmuch as the Mother who bore was a virgin before she brought forth, and continued a virgin after she had brought forth.

"In the world," "in the age" (*in sæculo*), that is, in this sixth millenary in which we are now. Christ Jesus, God and Man, one Son of God, and the same also the Son of the Virgin. Because while the Godhead assumed Manhood in the Virgin's womb, and with that Manhood, passing through the gate of the Virgin still entire and inviolate, entered the world at birth the Virgin's Son, the Man thus assumed is the Son of God, as we said above. And there are in Christ both the Godhead and the Manhood, and He is equally the Son of God the Father and of the Virgin Mother.

"PERFECT GOD, PERFECT MAN," that is, very God and very Man.

"OF A REASONABLE, RATIONAL, SOUL," and not as the heretic Apollinaris said at first, that the Godhead was in Christ's flesh instead of the soul; afterwards, when confuted by the authority of the Gospel, that He had a soul indeed (*anima*, an animal soul, which we have in common with the other animals) but not a rational soul. On the contrary, he who holds the Catholic faith says, "He subsists of a reasonable or rational soul and human flesh," that is, He is man entire and perfect.

"EQUAL TO THE FATHER AS TOUCHING HIS GODHEAD, INFERIOR TO THE FATHER AS TOUCHING HIS MANHOOD," inferior, that is, in reference to the form of a servant which He vouchsafed to assume.

"WHO, ALTHOUGH HE BE GOD AND MAN, YET HE IS NOT TWO, BUT ONE CHRIST," that is, there are two substances in Christ, Godhead and Manhood, not two Persons, but one.

"ONE, HOWEVER, NOT BY CONVERSION OF THE GODHEAD IN THE FLESH, BUT BY ASSUMPTION OF THE MANHOOD IN GOD," that is, not that the Godhead which is immutable and unconvertible is flesh, but is therefore one, because it hath assumed manhood. It begins to be what it was not, and it hath not lost what it was. It begins to be what it was not before. It hath not lost the Godhead which continues immutable for ever.

"ONE AND BUT ONE, NOT BY CONFUSION OF SUBSTANCE, BUT BY UNITY OF PERSON," that is, the Godhead together with the Man, whom It hath vouchsafed to assume is immutable, as it is written, "Thy Word, O Lord,

abideth for ever," that is, the Godhead with the Manhood. As we said, There are two Substances, one Person, in Christ; that as before the assumption of the flesh the Trinity was eternal, so, after the assumption of human nature the Trinity might still remain a true Trinity, lest because of the assumption of human flesh it might be called a Quaternity, to say or think which, far be it from the hearts or thoughts of Believers, since, as was said above, "Both the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped."

"FOR AS THE REASONABLE (RATIONAL) SOUL AND FLESH IS ONE MAN, SO GOD AND MAN IS ONE CHRIST." Although God, the Son of God, assumed our clay-born and mortal nature, the condition of our redemption, yet in no wise did He defile Himself or change the nature of Godhead. For if the sun or fire touch any unclean thing it cleanses what it touches, but in no wise shares its defilement. So the Godhead assumed the burthen also of our human nature, but in no wise shared its defilement, but cleansed our nature of flesh which it assumed, and by atoning freed it from the stains and pollutions of sins and vices, as Isaiah says, "Himself took our infirmities and carried our sicknesses." For this end was He born as to His human nature, that He might take our infirmities and carry our sicknesses: not that He had infirmities and sicknesses in Himself, for He is the Salvation of the world, but that He might take them away from us, whilst the hand-writing which was against us having been taken away by the grace and mystery of His sacred passion, He bestowed upon us redemption and the salvation of our souls together.

"WHO SUFFERED FOR OUR SALVATION," that is, in that which could suffer, in other words, in His human nature: for in His Divine nature the Son of God is impassible.

"He DESCENDED INTO HELL," that He might deliver the first man, Adam, the Patriarchs, the Prophets, and all the righteous, who on account of original sin were detained there, and having loosed them from the chains of sin, and redeemed them by His blood, might recall them from the same captivity and the same infernal abode to the supernal country and the joys of perpetual life. The rest, who, besides original sin, have been guilty of great crimes, remained in penal Tartarus, as the Scripture declares. So the Prophet speaks in the Person of Christ, "O death, I will be thy death," that is, Christ by His death hath slain Death, the enemy of the human race, and hath given life. "O Hell, I will be thy sting." In part He was the sting of Hell in respect of those whom He delivered; part He left, in respect of those who for great crimes remained in torments.

"He ROSE FROM THE DEAD," "the first-born of the dead." Elsewhere also the Apostle says, that "He is the first-born of many brethren," that is, He first rose from the dead. "And many bodies of the saints which slept arose with Him," which the Evangelical authority confirms, "But Himself Who is the Head first; then those which are His members in succession."

Afterwards "He ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN," as the Psalmist saith, "He ascended up on high, He led captivity captive," that is, man's nature, which before

had been sold under sin and brought into captivity—this, now redeemed, He led captive to the high heaven, and He placed it in everlasting glory in the heavenly country, the everlasting kingdom, where it had not been before.

"He sitteth at the right hand of the Father," that is, His Father's blessedness, and in that honour which God is.

"Thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead." By the quick are meant those whom the Lord at His coming shall find alive in the body; by the dead those who have been buried before. According to another meaning, the quick are the righteous, the dead sinners.

"At Whose coming all men have to rise again with their bodies, and to give account of their own works. And they that have done good shall go into life eternal, and they that have done evil into eternal fire. This is the Catholic Faith, which except every man do believe faithfully and firmly he cannot be saved."

INDEX.

Almighty, "not two Almighties but one Almighty," 37.
Apocrypha quoted as "Divine Scripture," 7.
Apocryphal Books as distinguished from "Ecclesiastical," 74, 76.
Apollinarianism, 145, 180, 182, 191, 230.
Arianism, 132, 226.

Baptism, 51, 73; Heretical Baptism not iterated, 52.
Blood and Water issuing from our Lord's pierced side; the mystical meaning, 114, 205.
Bodleian Library, early printed copy of Rufinus on the Creed, 79.
Body Spiritual, 16.

Canon of Scripture, 75, 129.
Celestine, 151.
Chastity, 79.
Creed, The, to be learnt by heart by the Catechumens and rehearsed before the Church previously to baptism, 34, 86, 196; Not to be committed to writing, 34, 84; Ascribed to the Apostles as its Authors, 83; Collected from Scripture, 34.
Creeds of the Eastern Churches as distinguished from those of the West, 87.
Creeds: African, 3, 33.
Aquileian, 80.
Athanasian, 221.
Constantinopolitan, 213.
Jerusalem, 55.
Nicene, 164, 211.
Roman, 81.
Cross, sign of, 64, 137.
Cyril, St., of Jerusalem, 53.
Cyril, St., of Alexandria, 144; His second Letter to Nestorius accepted at Ephesus and Chalcedon, 150; The anathemas appended to his third Letter probably prevented its acceptance, 152.

Devil, The, fell of his own free choice, 76.
Donatus, 132.
Dress, Modesty in, 72.

Ebion, 131.
Ecclesiastical Books, 129.
Ecclesiasticus, The Book of, why so called, 130.
Ephesus, 7th Canon of the Council of, 186.
Epictetus, St. Athanasius's Epistle to, 184.
Eucharist, The, 169.
Eunomius, 132.
Eusebius of Dorylæum, 185, 189.
Eutyches, 185.
Exorcism, 36.

Faith, Its nature, 86; Necessity of confessing our faith, 4.
Fasting, 71, 77.
Flavian, 185.
Forgiveness, threefold, 52.
Fortunatus, 219.
Free-will, 66, 68.

Γράμματα πάσχαλα, 147.

Hebrews, Epistle to, ascribed to St. Paul, 76, 129, 159.
Hermes, Pastor of, 130.
Hour, Mine hour is not yet come, 13.

Illustrations not to be pressed beyond the intention with which they were employed, 94.
"In" the phrase "to believe *in*," proper only when used of one or another of the Divine Persons, 128.

Jerome, St., his quarrel with Rufinus, 78.
Job, an example of Patience, 43.
John, Patriarch of Antioch, 152.

Kingdom of Christ, eternity of, 124, 133.

Lampon, 149.
Lent, the Season for Catechising, 58.
Leo, St., 187.

Manicheeism, 54, 131, 135.
Marcion, 131.
Marriage, Second, 70.
Matter not eternal, 5.
Millenary, Christ born in the sixth Millenary of the world, 229.
Mittendarius, 132.

Nestorius, 144.

Papa, 82.
Patripassians, 91.
Paul, Bishop of Emesa, 177.
Penance, 51.
Phœnix, The, 99.
Photinus, 83, 131.
Predicates, Transfer of, 148.

Resurrection, Reply to objections respecting, 72, 135.
Rufinus, 78.

Sabellian Heresy, 91.
Scripture, Inspiration of, 73, 128; Nothing to be received as matter of faith which cannot be proved from Scripture, 66; The reading of Scripture enjoined, 75, 77.
Septuagint, its history, 74.
Spirit, Holy, Progress of St. Augustine's views respecting, 25; Procession of, 127, 172, 224; Deity of, 49.
Soul, The, immortal, 67.

Titular Churches, 208.

Union, Hypostatic, 158, 166.

Valentinus, 135, 191.
Virgin, The Blessed, her perpetual Virginity, 12, 15, 40, 97.

Ways, The two, or Judgment of Peter, 130.
Will, The Father begat the Son not of will nor of necessity, but of nature, 229.
Word, The, why the Son so called, 8, 61.

Χριστοτόκος, 146.

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